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## "MY LORD'S BOOKS"

THE LIBRARY OF FRANCIS, SECOND EARL OF BEDFORD,  
IN 1584

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THAT very zealous Puritan nobleman, Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, who died of smallpox in 1641, just when it seemed at least possible that he might succeed in reconciling King and Parliament, was in the habit of making a will annually. When one of these was unrolled recently there dropped out another paper. This proved to be a list of the contents of the library of the grandfather of the testator, Francis, second Earl of Bedford. Hitherto all that had been known of the books and papers which the latter must have possessed was contained in one sentence in his own will by which he bequeathed "all my auncient written englishe bookes of wycliffes workes, or otherwise within my closett at Bedford howse" to Burghley.<sup>1</sup> All that could be surmised was that he would probably have had a library which reflected the taste of an Elizabethan gentleman of standing; that it would represent theologically a definitely anti-Roman bias was tolerably certain. Both suppositions were more than justified by this list. Why it should have been drawn up is difficult to say. Possibly the good Earl was considering the disposition of some of his possessions, for in the summer of 1584

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately these manuscripts cannot now be traced. See Scott Thomson, *Two Centuries of Family History*, p. 211, n. 1.

he knew himself to be a very sick man. Already in April that year the ailment, gangrene of the foot, to which he was finally to succumb had seized him and he was growing rapidly worse, in spite of having put himself into the hands of two doctors whom some denounced as quacks, but of whom Walsingham said cautiously that, although they had no great learning, they had nevertheless done some very great cures. The Earl they could not cure, and while he thus lay ill careful note was made on July 26 of "my Lo. bookes in the longe Trunck," thirty-four in all, and a month later, on August 24, another note of the other books, "in the great cheast bound w<sup>th</sup> Iron," which contained no less than 190 volumes.

His library contained 221 books and 4 manuscripts; 59 of the books were duplicates, leaving a total of 162. Of the 221 no less than 161 were religious works, 11 of a literary character, and 12 more or less political. There were twelve Italian books, one "old booke in Saxon tonge," and twenty-three miscellaneous volumes—medical treatises, a book of husbandry, several travel books, and various topical pamphlets.

Owing to the nature of the entries in the list which very frequently omit the author's name, it has not always been easy to identify the books meant, and in some cases, duly noted, the identifications given are doubtful. Only five of the total 162, however, now remain untraced. Seven more are also apparently non-extant, but can be traced in the *Stationers' Register*. In other words, out of 162 books only twelve have vanished—or slightly less than the proportion of one in thirteen.

Of the total 147 the British Museum possesses all but six—not always, of course, the original edition, and in a few cases no copy of an edition published in the Earl's lifetime. The Museum also possesses one book formerly owned by the Earl. It is *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacramentes, etc. used in the English Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Churche of Scotland* . . . Edinburgh . . . Robert Lekprevik. 1565 (C. 52. cc. 8). It is a curiously bound book, with leather covers but no spine. Back and front are both stamped with the Earl's arms, and the spine is covered with a piece of paper, gilded and stamped with the same pattern as that of the gilded goffered edges. Calvin's *Catechism* follows the Psalms, with a separate title-page, dated 1564. It is not likely that this book ought to be identified with any of those in the list.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 396 ff. The only possible identifications would be: I, 3; II, 32, 143, 152.

A very large proportion of the books in the list are now extremely rare, and so far there has been nothing to suggest that any of the copies examined may once have belonged to this collection. The nearest approach to an identification occurs in the case of the Woburn Abbey copy of I, 4, of which it is possible to say that there is nothing to show that it did not belong to the Earl. But later generations took a keen interest in the part which their ancestor had played in relation to the literature, and particularly the theological literature, of his day. It is clear that the fourth Earl, precisely as might be expected from his Puritan leanings, collected a number of copies of books with which, or with their authors, his grandfather had had associations. It was Wriothsley, second Duke of Bedford, of whom Burnet wrote that he inherited the Protestant faith of his ancestors as part of the entail, a remark called forth by the generosity of the Duke in subsidising largely his *History of the Reformation*.<sup>1</sup> That Carolinian divine had been in Zurich and had seen there the correspondence of the second Earl. Finally, later in that century John, fourth Duke of Bedford, he who signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, added again to the library such copies as he could find of books dedicated to his predecessor.

The list is written in a clear Italian hand, with sporadic English letters. It has not been possible to identify the compiler, but he was an accurately-minded man, and his descriptions of the books are invariably correct. He has, moreover, by his somewhat detailed descriptions of bindings and edges, given us an interesting impression of the appearance of an Elizabethan library. In general effect it was, apparently, not the monotonously uniform brown calf affair that one may carelessly have imagined it to be. The Bedford list notes twenty-six parchment bindings, twelve vellum, one in black velvet, two in yellow leather, one in leather, one in paper, eighteen in black, mostly leather, and seven in red covers, again mostly leather. Where the colour of the edges of the leaves is given it is most frequently gilt or green. From the nature of the greater number of those books with bindings not described—*i.e.* topical pamphlets, of small bulk—it may probably be inferred that they were without wrappers.

Generally speaking, the collection is just such an one as we might expect a serious-minded cultured Elizabethan gentleman to possess. On the whole, the Earl must be given the credit of being

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ed. 1865, vol. ii, *Preface*, p. 5.

a real lover of books and of buying most of the best that were available in his lifetime. The overwhelming preponderance of theological works lends to the list a deceptive air of dullness—deceptive, because it must be remembered that very few books of literary interest were actually published before 1584, and that the more memorable books of the age belong mostly to the next two decades. We miss *Euphues* and *The Shepheards Calendar*, Stow and Holinshed and Camden's *Britannia*, but we find North's *Plutarch*, Foxe's *Martyrs*, Hall's and Sleidan's *Chronicles*, the *Diall of Princes*, Thucydides, Googe's *Four Books of Husbandry*, Seneca's *Of Benefyting*, Mulcaster's *Positions*, and three of the best travel books of the period, namely, Willes' edition of Eden's *History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, Beste's *Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya*, and Hakluyt's *Diuers Voyages touching the discoverie of America*. In fine, while it is obvious that the Earl had a splendid collection of theological works, it must also be realised that, in proportion to the number published, he possessed an equally remarkable collection of literary books.

The more the list is examined in relation to what we know of the Earl's life and character, the more is its particular and human interest made manifest. Innumerable volumes of Calvin, Beza and Jewell confirm our knowledge of his religious predilections.<sup>1</sup> Already as a young man his chosen friend had been Edward Underhill, "hot gospeller" and gentleman pensioner, a friendship approved by the father since the occasion when the young Lord Russell had the misfortune to fall or be thrown into the Thames at Limehouse. He was got out, by whom history does not relate; but it was a bitterly cold day, and there seems to have been some danger of his collapsing, and Underhill, with admirable forethought, had him carried into his own dwelling and put him into bed—a piece of practical good sense which he himself declared made the father his "very frende."<sup>2</sup> Both young men went to prison on the accession of Mary, and the letters from Bradford to Lord Russell, commending him as highly privileged in that he was counted worthy to suffer and exhorting him to remember Lot's wife and not to look back, are the forerunners of that correspondence which the recipient kept up with the representatives of the reformed religion until the end of his life. But he was not to be as highly tried as some of his friends, and his

<sup>1</sup> For the full account, see Scott Thomson, *Two Centuries of Family History*.

<sup>2</sup> Camden Soc., 1859, *Autobiography of Edward Underhill*, p. 140.



release must have been effected after a comparatively short time. He was no friend, however, to the Spanish Consort, and immediately upon his father's death, in March 1554-1555, he gave his friend, William Cecil, power of attorney to administer his estates, asked for and obtained a passport from Philip and Mary, allowing him to travel abroad for two years, and on the 26th of the month had the passport duly endorsed both at Dover and Calais to the effect that he had passed that way quietly with the eight horses and eight men-at-arms that he was allowed to have.

The greater part of his two years of absence was spent in Italy. His affection for that country, again an inherited affection, for his father had loved Italy in general and Venice in particular, is reflected in the twelve Italian books which formed part of his library, and it is particularly interesting to find the *Historia di Pietro Bizari Della guerra fatta in Ungheria* (1569) dedicated "Al l'illustriss. signore il sig. Francesco Rossello, Conte di Bedfordia." In the dedication Bizari speaks of his devotion and gratitude for the singular benefits he has received at various times from the Earl, which he can only repay with the work of his pen.

But Italy was not the only country the Earl visited, and his next sojourn brings us back again to the theological section of his library. Since at least the third decade of the century, Zurich had received many English visitors, and also many of its own citizens had visited England. The links thus forged had been commercial as well as theological. It was when booksellers and printers met at the great fair at Frankfurt that, amid business talk, letters addressed to the leaders of the Church of Zurich by leaders of the reforming party in England were handed over and others received in exchange.<sup>1</sup> The little group of refugees who had fled to the Swiss capital to evade persecution under the Act of Six Articles had returned home on the accession of Edward VI; but now, when Francis, Earl of Bedford, came to Zurich he found there another group of English residents with whom, as with the leaders of the Church in the Swiss capital, he formed friendships which endured to the end of his life.

One result of the Zurich visit, like that of so many others, is writ large in the list of the contents of his library. Even making allowance for the singular capacity the Earl seems to have had not

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the story of Reyner Wolf, printer, and the "flower of London booksellers"; C. H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI*, p. 80.

only for making friends but for retaining them, his correspondence with the Swiss Reformers, beginning as soon as he had left the city for Venice and continuing when he was back in England, shows how surely the trend of his mind was in the direction of the faith as presented by the reforming party. The manuscript of Wycliffe's works mentioned in his will has been referred to above. This is not in the list of books contained in the two chests, nor are four other books which occur in an inventory taken at his death, which may have been drawn up at Chenies or, possibly, at the Russell House, near Ivy Bridge in the Strand. These are :

j Booke of Zinglius his woorkes  
The ecclesiasticall historie, ffabians Cronicles  
The Cronicle of the abbotte of Vspurgensis.

Like the books in the chest and the Wycliffe manuscript, they have only too surely disappeared, and we do not know whether the works of Zwingli were bought in Zurich or were perchance a present from Bullinger, Gualter or Beza.<sup>1</sup>

Of very particular interest are the books which are dedicated to the Earl. The list and the library at Woburn have, between them, added considerably to our knowledge of the Earl as a patron of letters. Those in the list, with dedications, are : Nos. I, 4, 6 ; II, 25, 28, 36, 116, 119, 162—eight in all. At Woburn, collected at some subsequent date or dates, for the sake of their interest to the Earl's descendants, are the following : *Historia di Pietro Bizari Della guerra fatta in Ungheria* . . . MDLIV. ; *Coopers Chronicle* . . . 1560 ; *A Fruitful Sermon, preached at Occham, in the County of Rutland* . . . By Thomas Gybson . . . [1583] ; *The Relikes of Rome* . . . by Thomas Beacon [? 1560] ; *Certaine Sermons* [by John Udall] 1596<sup>2</sup> ; *The Secrete of the reuerende Maister Alexis of Piemont* . . . Translated . . . by William Warde . . . 1598 ; *An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes* . . . by Radulphe Gualthere Tigurine . . . 1572 ; and *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus* . . . translated by Iohn Sadler . . . 1572. Five more can be added from Hazlitt and the *D.N.B.* : *A briefe Chronicle of the foure principall Emperres* . . . by . . . Iohn Sleidan . . . 1563 ; *The Droomme of*

<sup>1</sup> It is wiser to remember that he also had "A Booke of Venitian Armes," clearly Italian and not English work, which it is tempting to say was bought or given to the Earl in Venice, but the date of which, 1561, prevents any supposition of the kind. See Scott Thomson, *Two Centuries of Family History*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Earliest known edition.

*Doomesday* . . . by George Gascoigne, 1576; *A true report of all the doynges at the assembly at Poyssy*. . . . Translated by I. D. [? 1561];<sup>1</sup> *The Christen Knighte* . . . by Thomas Becon (see *Workes*, ii, 7, 1560), and *The Monstruous Marchandise of the Romishe Bishops* (Becon, *Workes*, iii, 7, 1563). Incidentally, while working on the list, we have come across no less than ten dedications of well-known books to other members of the Earl's immediate family.

Even if we suppose these twenty-three dedications<sup>2</sup> to make up the total of those addressed to the Earl, their number is still remarkable. The nearest rivals are Leicester with twenty-two, and Hatton with twenty-one. Twelve are recorded for Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, eleven for Walsingham, and five for Philip Sidney—all well-known as patrons of letters.<sup>3</sup> Further, if these dedications are examined, it is found that the connection between the Earl and the authors or translators tends to be much closer than is generally the case between patron and writer in Elizabethan times. Wythers, presenting Sleidan's *Briefe Chronicle*, writes that he was encouraged by "the vulgare report of your clementie and gratefull acceptance of other mens labours in such lyke enterprises." Cooper also dedicates his *Chronicle* as "a person to your honour vnknown"; but in various other cases it is obvious from the details given that the Earl's patronage was by no means merely nominal.

A genuinely personal note is struck by George Gascoigne. Dedicating his *Droomme of Doomesday* (1576) to Bedford as "his singular good Lord and Maister," he writes:

If I shuld presume . . . to blasonne and set forth eyther your iust desertes in generalitie, or your exceeding fauour and bountie towards me in perticularitie, I might both offend your honorable eares (which are seldome seene willing to harken vnto your owne prayses. . . .) Let it then please your honor to rest thoroughly satisfied with this my simple acknowledging of your great goodnes, so much surpassing my smal desert, that I fynde none other meane of discharge but onely to continue your faithful seruauant and follower. The which I protest to accomplish vnto my lyues end, as well towards your own person and my good Ladie, as to all your posteritie in euerie duetifull respecte. . . . From my lodging where I finished this trauayle in weake plight for health as your good Ls: well knoweth this second daye of *Maye*. 1576.

<sup>1</sup> By N. Des Gallars. Unique copy in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>2</sup> The twenty-third was discovered while this article was in proof: i.e. Robert Tanner's *Probable Coniectures from the course of Tymes*. 1583.

<sup>3</sup> In each case these numbers have been taken from Hazlitt.

Even more explicitly personal are the dedications of *An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes or Sermons, vppon the Actes of the Apostles* (1572), and *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus* (1572). The former was translated from Gwalther's Latin by John Bridges, Vicar of Herne, who writes thus of Bedford: "For your honors beneuolence and friendship, I long sithence well found and prooued, which gaue me the best part of that exhibition, wherby I lyued in Italie three or foure yeares together." The latter was translated by John Sadler of Oundle, and dedicated as "a testimoniall both of like good will, and also of my verye bounden dutye: which nowe manye yeares latelye passed, have receiued a liberall annuitye or stipende of your honour."

William Alley, Bishop of Exeter, uses the Earl's arms on the verso of the title-page of No. I, 6, and speaks in his dedication of Bedford's "munificent liberalitie," and of himself as "most addict and tied with the bondes of singular and great benefits flowing from you." So far, no specific reference to Alley has yet been found in any of the Bedford documents, but the relationship between the cathedral authorities in Exeter and both the first and second Earls was always close. John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, was an intimate friend of the first Earl; and both Earls took a considerable interest in the welfare of the city. When the Dominican Priory there was dissolved under Henry VIII, the site was granted to the first Earl, then Lord Russell, and upon it he built a mansion, Bedford House, which stood on what is to-day called Bedford Circus. Both the Earls lived at this house while they were in the West, and several of the second Earl's children were born there, including the youngest, Lady Margaret Russell, whose horoscope was cast by Dr. John Dee, who noted at the same time that the date of her birth was July 8, 1560, hora 2 min. 9 Exoniae mane.

Two others, though not couched in such personal terms, are of definite interest. Calvin's *Harmonie vpon the three Euangelists*, translated by E. P. (1584) (II, 25), contains the following passage:

Next for your praises, as you like not to heare them, so I will not offend you in setting them down. . . . They that haue best knowen you, say that you began a good course in your youth, that you witnessed a good confession in the last time of persecution, that your constancie hath been testified by your troubles at home and trauels in forraine countries: you have continued your profession in the midst of your dignitie, Lordships and liuing left by your parents, and in the seat of government, wherein

our Soueraigne and most gracious Queene hath placed you, not falling a sleepe in securitie in this so peaceable a time.

It is signed, "From Kiltelhampton in Cornewall, this 28. of Ianuarie. 1584. The Lords most vnworthie minister, lame Eusebius Paget." Similarly, the well-known John Field, the preacher, dedicating *Thirteene Sermons of Maister John Calvine* (1579) (II, 36) to the Earl and his wife, writes: "As God hath called you to the knowledge of his glorious Gospel, which is a token of your election, so goe forwarde more and more in the growth therof. . . . God hath called you to high honor, not so much by your places and calling amongst men . . . but in that he hath made you his adopted children."

Perhaps, however, the most interesting dedication of all is that of Willes' *History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies* (No. II, 28). Not only does it emphasise very strongly the Earl's interest in those voyages of discovery, which were one of the peculiar glories of the age, but it gives us also a charming glimpse of an Elizabethan interior. It is dedicated to the Earl and his second wife Bridget in the following terms:

In the smal number whereof [*i.e.* of "friendes and weldoers"], for amongst many wel-willers I finde but few well doers, your Honour (right noble Lady) my Lorde and you, his noble children and yours, since my first returne from beyond the seas, must I confesse to have stoode me chiefly in steade: and humbly acknowledge, the first yeerely pension I ever was assured of in Englande, to have ben by your Ladiship bestowed on me.

Finally, offering his book, he prays the Countess that she "will vouchsafe it, and by leysure, in the iourney, the whiche my Lorde and you have determined into the west countrey, to let your page reade them over to your Honours recreation" (July 4, 1577).

The Earl of Bedford was Lieutenant of the Western Counties—Dorset, Devon and Cornwall—in 1577. The corporation records of Lyme Regis for this year show that part of his business was to inquire into the doings of a ship called the *Phoenix of London*, which had arrived at the Cobb "in warrlike maner"; in other words, as was so often the case, to take measures if he could against piracy. Lest the evening should be dull, Lyme Regis at least seems to have almost invariably provided players. Richard Eden's book was evidently designed for entertainment for the quieter evenings on these occasions.

Apart, however, from these books specifically connected with the Earl by personal dedications, there are a number of others which form, as it were, a running commentary upon his career and interests. We feel, for example, that we know why Thomas Churchyard's *Scourge for Rebels* (1584), dealing with the troubles in Ireland, found a place on his shelves. His fourth son, Sir William Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, made his reputation as a soldier and administrator in Ireland. In 1581 he commanded a company there against Fiagh O'Byrne and was knighted in consequence of his exploits. In 1594 he returned as Lord Deputy, and held that office until 1597.

Similarly, we feel we are privileged to know a little more about the Earl's character when we find Mulcaster's *Positions* (1581) in his library, and realise that at this time he had several young grandchildren in whose education he may very well have been interested. There was, for example, the grandson who succeeded him as the third Earl, who was nine years old in 1581; and both his daughters, Anne, Countess of Warwick, and Elizabeth, Countess of Bath, had young children. The most celebrated of his grandchildren, the famous Anne, Countess of Dorset, was not, unfortunately for our purpose, born until 1591.

Nos. II, 124 and 126, remind us of the fact that the Earl had personal reasons for an interest in contemporary French history. He had been sent to the French court in 1561 as Ambassador Extraordinary; and, incidentally, it is interesting to note that his facility in tongues, inherited from his father, must have served him well, as it was said of him on this occasion, that "the eyrle hathe the italian tong verie well and the quene mother hathe pleasure yn hyr owne tong."<sup>1</sup>

Nos. II, 33, 44, 78, 148, 171—all connected with the Jesuit mission of the early eighties—remind us of Bedford's position on Elizabeth's Council. Professor A. F. Pollard has dubbed him the Queen's "stoutest Protestant peer." From January 31, 1580 to August 2, 1581, he appears to have attended over a hundred of the council meetings,<sup>2</sup> and it is interesting to note that, among others, his name is entered for those of July 26 and 30, and August 2, 1581—all concerned with the apprehension and examination of Edmund Campion. Other examples of council business which may be held

<sup>1</sup> S. P. O. Foreign, Eliz., Vol. 22, No. 872.

<sup>2</sup> See *Acts of the Privy Council* (1580, 1581).



responsible for the presence in his library of Nos. I, 18; II, 42, 48, 110, 114, 129, 136, are to be found in the meetings of January 25, 1581, May 6, 1581, and May 11, 1581. At the first of these the business of the Family of Love, and Knewstub's investigations thereof, was discussed (Nos. I, 18; II, 48, 129). At the second, the case of John Nichols and his final recantation of Rome was dealt with (Nos. 42, 110, 114). At the last—and again on July 26, 1581—the case of the minister, Oliver Pigge, came up, and may well have accounted for the Earl's acquisition of Pigge's book published about a year later (Nos. 136, 137).

In conclusion, a somewhat pathetic interest attaches to the presence of Nos. I, 25, and II, 53 in the Earl's library. The first is *Caries Farewel to Physicke* (1583), in which Walter Carey, on retiring from medical practice, writes of the diseases of which he had had greatest experience, and prescribes for them. One suspects him of being something of a quack, as his usual recommendation for almost every ailment is a secret nostrum of his own which can be bought from Master Gray, the apothecary in Fenchurch Street, at "six shillings the wine pint," and which "contrarie to the Nature of other purges" will keep "good and in perfect vertue three weekes or a moneth." His ointment, sold also by Master Gray at four shillings an ounce, was apparently an equally infallible remedy for all skin troubles. The second of these medical manuals is *A Treatise of the Sufficiencie of English Medicines* (1580), which urges the use of English herbs instead of foreign drugs. Gangrene, according to the writer T. B., is "an Vlcer, in whiche the partes begin to be mortified," and is cured by the remedies for cankers. These "being not exulcerated, but remaining humors, are cured (if with any medicine) by the iuice of Nightshade, al the sorts of Endiue and Succorie, with Agrimonie, w<sup>t</sup> Saint Iohns Wort, wild Clarie . . . the flesh of Snailles boiled, Craie fishes, greene Frogges, and to conclude, with all kinde of metals and minerals, and among them Leade, howsoever it be vsed, is the most souereigne. If it be exulcerated, then herein haue the minerals and metals the chief place" (p. 35). The sick man must have read the manual hopefully. But neither physician, surgeon, quack, nor herbalist were of any avail, and after nearly two years of appalling suffering death came indeed "as a friend" on July 28, 1585.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1584.

## A NOETE OF MY LO. BOOKES

[The list is printed substantially as it is in the MS., but certain irregular contractions have been expanded. Where the title given is vague or slightly inadequate the real title is printed alongside in square brackets. The numbers which follow each item are the identification numbers in the *Short Title Catalogue*. Where the book is one of two possible editions both reference numbers are given. If it is one of more than two, this is indicated by the first number and ff. The first and second parts of the list are referred to throughout as I and II.]

26 July, 1584.

A note of my Lo. bookes in the longe Trunck.

1. Calvines Institutions. 4415.
2. Dioscorides Italiane.
3. Comon prayer booke guilded. See *Liturgies*: 16267 ff.
4. Sleidanus Comentararies. 19848. [*A Famouse Cronicle of oure time, called . . .*]
5. P. Martier on ye Judges. 24670.
6. Ye poore mans Library. 374.
7. Plutarches Lyves eng. 20065 or 6. [North's translation.]
8. B. of Canterbury awnswer, to Ste. Gardiner touching the L. Supp. 5991 or 2.
9. Discription of Italy by Leander. Italian.
10. First parte of Plutarches Lives. Italian.
11. Calvine on Genes.<sup>1</sup> past. 4393.
12. An other in vellem.
13. Heresbachius of Husbandry. 13196 or 7. [*Foure Bookes of Husbandry . . . Englished . . . by Barnabe Googe.*]
14. Defensative against supposed prophesies by Lo. H. Howard.<sup>2</sup> 13858.
15. An other of the same.
16. The Pageant of Popes. 1304. [By John Bale.]
17. Courtely courtesie<sup>3</sup> transl. by H. Wootton. 5647. [*A courtlie Controuersie of Cupids cautels.*]
18. Knewstubb against ye family of Love.<sup>4</sup> 15040. [*A Confutation of monstrous and horrible heresies.*]
19. Awnswer to ye censure against Mr. Charke. 5007 or 8.
20. Jewell uppon ye Thessal. 14603 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and his wife Anne, the Earl's daughter; past.=? pasteboard.

<sup>2</sup> N.B. unusual imprint: *Printed by John Charlewood, Printer to the right Honourable Earle of Arundell, 1583*. Of considerable bibliographical interest: see McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> Sic, for *controuersie*.

<sup>4</sup> Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.

21. Some of xpian faythe by Theod. Beza. 2007 ff.
- [21a.] w<sup>th</sup> xpian. Questions & awnsweres. 2037 ff.
22. Former parte of the same.
23. The Treatise of ye church transla. by Mr. Feilde. 18158 ff.
24. Disputacion w<sup>th</sup> Campion in the Tower. 18744.
25. Caries Farewell to Physick.<sup>1</sup> 4730.
26. Calvins Catechisme. Italian. [Cf. II, 143.]
27. Twoe Sermons of Peeters Fall. [by Udall] 24503.
28. The Successe of Famogista. 17520.
29. The Psalmes in meeter Italian.
30. [MS.] Comedy in Laten written dedicat. to ye erle of Derby.
31. [MS.] Th'estate of Spaine & Portugall dedicated to my Lo. written
32. Prayer booke called a godly garden. 11555 ff.
33. Alphabete of prayers. 4558 ff.
34. Alley B. of Exeter on ye 1. epistle of peter.<sup>2</sup> See 374.

24 Augusti, 1584.

A noete of my Lo. Bookes in the great cheast bound w<sup>th</sup> Iron.

1. P. Martirs comon places in fo. red lether guilt. 24669.
2. An other of the same in fo. red lether greene leaves.
3. Actes & monumentes of the church[s] by Mr. Fox in 2 vol. in
4. fo. red leather grene leaves ij bookes. 11225.
5. Guiccardyne of the warres of Italy fo. black leather guilt given to  
S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Russell. 12458.
6. An other of the same black leather & grene leaves fo.
7. Musculus comon places in fo. black velvet cover guilded. 18308.
8. An other of P. Martirs comon places in yealow leather. Fo. grene  
leaves. See No. 1.
9. P. Martirs comentarie vpon the Romaynes fo. 24672.
10. Halls cronicle in fo. black leather, yellow leavs. 12721 ff. [*The  
union of the two noble and illustrious families York and Lancaster.*]
11. Tyndall, Frithe & Barnes workes fo. yealow leather & leaves.  
24436.
12. Th'exposicion vpon Mathewe collected by Marlorett in fo. black  
leather guilded leaves. 17404.
13. The Diall of Princes in fo. red leather leaves guilded. 12427 ff.  
[North's translation.]
14. Livie in Italian bound in Parchem<sup>1</sup> fo.
15. A Geneve bible fo. bound in parchm.<sup>1</sup> See Bible 2093 ff.
16. An other in red leather in a case.
17. Thucidides of the warrs betweene the peleponesians & th'athenians,  
fo. black leather white leaves. 24056.
18. The B. of Caunterburies awnswere to Ste. Gardiner touchinge the  
doctrine of ye L. Supp. fo. black leather. green. See I, 8.
19. An other of the same, of the same byndinge.

<sup>1</sup> Unique copy, B.M.

<sup>2</sup> This is undoubtedly the same as I, 6. See full title.

- 19a. An other Geneve bible in parchm<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> broad stringes in fo. 2093 ff.
20. The newe Testam<sup>t</sup> of the Geneve in fo. blacke cover grene leaves. 2093 ff.
21. An other of Tindalls Frithes & Barnes workes in fo. black leather & greene leaves. See No. 11.
22. An old booke in parchm<sup>t</sup> in Saxon tonge <sup>1</sup> fo. black leather. clasped.
23. Martine Bucer of the Kingdome of Christe <sup>2</sup> in fo. in parchm<sup>t</sup> Untraced.
24. The Treatise of heavenly philosophie in 4<sup>o</sup> by T. P. black leather, whyte leaves. [by T. Palfreyman] 19138.
25. The harmony of Mathew Mark & Luke w<sup>th</sup> Calvins Comentary 4<sup>o</sup> black cover green leaves. 2962.
- 26, 27. ij more of the same, of the liek byndinge.
28. Willes of the traveyle of ye west Indies 4<sup>o</sup> vellem. 649. [*The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies. . . . gathered in parte and done into Englyshe by Richard Eden. Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richard Willes.*]
29. Martyne Luther vpon the Galathians 4<sup>o</sup> leather. 16965 ff.
30. Sermons of Mr. Calvine in vellem. See 4437-4462.
31. History of Italy 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> 24018 or 9.
32. Common prayers booke in 4<sup>o</sup> red cover. See I 3.
33. The actes of Parliam<sup>t</sup> of the 23<sup>th</sup> yeare of Q. Eliz. 9484.
34. Calvines Sermons vpon the 119 psalme 4<sup>o</sup> black lether. 4460.
35. Defense of the doctryne of the L. Supp. by Cranmer Arch B. of Caunterbury 4<sup>o</sup> in red leather. See I, 8.
36. Calvines Sermons of election & reprobation 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> 4457.
37. Pasquyne of nuse owt of heaven purgatory & hell 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> 6130 or 2. [*Pasquine in a Traunce A Christian and learned Dialogue (contayning wonderfull and most straunge newes out of Heauen, Purgatorie, and Hell. . . .)*]
38. Awnswere to Howlettes epistle <sup>3</sup> 4. vellem. 25586. [*A Checke or reproofe of M. Howlets vntimely shreeching in her Maiesties eares, with an answere to the reasons alleadged.*]
39. L. AEnnaeus <sup>4</sup> of benefiting 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> translated by Art. Golding. 22215.
40. An other of Calvins Sermons on 119 psalme parchm<sup>t</sup>. See No. 34.
41. Th'apologie of the prince of orange in 4<sup>o</sup> pap. 15209 or 10.
42. Th'awnswers of the confutacion of Nicolles recantacion by Dudley Fenner 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup>, <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this instance "in parchm<sup>t</sup>." apparently describes the leaves, and the book was probably a manuscript. Asser's Latin *Life of King Alfred* (1574), printed in Anglo-Saxon characters, is the only folio volume traceable as a possible identification (S. T. C. 863) if a printed book was meant.

<sup>2</sup> ? A translation of *De Regno Christi*, for which see first item in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana* (Latin text), Basle, 1577. It is unusual for a folio volume to disappear completely as this seems to have done.

<sup>3</sup> Running title: *An answer to Howlets Epistle.*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

<sup>5</sup> Crossed out in MS. and reinserted after 46.

43. A xpian institucion by D. Hemingius 4° parchm<sup>t</sup> 13067 or 8.  
[*The Way of lyfe, A Christian, and Catholique Institution.*]
44. The disputacion in the Tower w<sup>th</sup> Campion 4° parchm<sup>t</sup> See I, 24.
45. Discourses of the differences of vocations by Agre. Ratclif esq<sup>r</sup>: 4°  
20745. [*Politique discourses.*]
46. Positions of the trayninge of yowthe by Mulcaster in vellem 4°  
18253.
47. The awnswere to y<sup>e</sup> confutacion of Nicolles recantation by Dudley  
Fenner. 4 parchm<sup>t</sup> 10764.
47. An other of the same.
48. Knewstub against the famyly of Love 4° See I, 18.
49. An other of Calvins sermons of election & reprobacion 4° vellem.  
See No. 36.
50. Hemingeus vpon thephesians. 4° parchm<sup>t</sup> 13058.
51. Paraphrase on the Romaynes<sup>1</sup> vellem 4°
52. Dialogue of ye castle of pollicie by Gate & Blandy. 4° 3128.  
[*The Castle, or picture of pollicy.*]
53. Treatise of englishe medicines<sup>2</sup> 4° 3750 or 1. [*A Treatise :  
Wherein is declared the sufficiencie of English Medicines.*]
54. The discoverie of Cataia. 4° 1972 or 3. [*A True Discourse of the  
late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by  
the Northweast, vnder the conduct of Martin Frobisher [by Geo.  
Best].*]
55. The history of the warres of the low countreis.<sup>3</sup> 4° 18438.
56. A booke of ye pope confuted<sup>4</sup> 4° parchm<sup>t</sup> 11241.
57. A New yeares guift to the Pope 4° 20112.
58. Rivius of the happines of this age<sup>5</sup> 4° No copy known.
59. Confutacion of Howlettes discourse by D. Fulk. 4° 11421.
60. Discourse against Vsury.<sup>6</sup> 4° 4342. [*A General Discourse against  
the damnable sect of Usurers.*]
61. The daunger of princes of oranges pson 1582 by assault. ? 25713  
or 4.<sup>7</sup>
62. An other of the pope confuted. 4. See No. 56.
63. Speciall Sermons of D. M<sup>r</sup> Luther 4° parchm<sup>t</sup> 16993 or 4.
64. The Liefe of Charles ye great by P. Ubaldino. Italian 4°
65. An other of the answer to Howlettes epistle 4. parchm<sup>t</sup> See No. 38.
66. An other of the same, of ye lieke byndinge 4° p.

<sup>1</sup> ? *Tho. Palfreyman his Paraphrase on the Romans ; also certain little tracts of  
Mart. Cellarius*, London, n.d. 4° (Hazlitt, H. 435). No copy known.

<sup>2</sup> By T. B., identified by S. T. C. as Timothy Bright, author of *Characterie*  
(i.e. the inventor of shorthand).

<sup>3</sup> Unique copy in the Bodleian.

<sup>4</sup> "Translated out of Latine into English by Iames Bell." Ascribed to John  
Foxe.

<sup>5</sup> Entered S. R. (Arber, ii, 337) September 11, 1578, to Toby Cooke : "Lycenced  
... A Discourse of the happines of this our Age. xij<sup>4</sup>" Cf. Herbert, p. 1261.

<sup>6</sup> Translated by Thomas Rogers from Philip Caesar.

<sup>7</sup> Identification doubtful.

67. Th'orchard of repentaunce by G. Whetstones 4<sup>o</sup> vellem.<sup>1</sup> See 25348.
68. Gueavarra his epistles 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> 12432 ff. [*The Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthony of Guevara.*]
69. B. of Lincolnes Sermons in the defence of the Gospell & against the cavills of thadversary 4. parchm<sup>t</sup> 5685.
70. Display of popish practises by Theo. Beza. parchm<sup>t</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> No copy known.<sup>2</sup>
71. Paraphrase on ye revelacion by Brocarde. 4<sup>o</sup> 3810. [*The Reuelation of S. Iohn reueled . . . by Iames Brocard . . . Englished by Iames Sanford Gent.*]
72. Rogers of y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> coming of Christ.<sup>3</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> [*Of the ende of this world, and second comming of Christ.*]
73. Of ye Knowledge of warre 4<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup> 20403. [by Thomas Procter.]
74. Articles agreed by the convocacion of the clergie. 4. 1562. ? 10039.
75. Voyadges of ye discouerie of america parchm<sup>t</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> 12624 [Hakluyt].
76. Calvins Sermons upon ye 10 commandem<sup>ts</sup> 4. parchm<sup>t</sup> 4452 ff.
77. Scourge for rebels by T. Churchyarde. 4<sup>o</sup> 5255.
78. Th'execucion of Iustice in Inghland 1583. 4. 4902 or 3 [by Burghley].
79. Thorder of prayer to be vsed vpon wednesdays & frydays after the late earthquake.<sup>4</sup> 4<sup>o</sup> 16512 or 3.
80. An other of the same.
81. Ye 2<sup>d</sup> replie of T. Cartwright against D. Whitgift of church disciplyne. 4714.
82. Ye lettres of Bernardo Tosto. Italian 8<sup>o</sup> parchm<sup>t</sup>
83. Th'exposition of ye epistles to thessal. by Iewell B. of Sarum. 8<sup>o</sup> See I, 20.
84. Defense of the translations of ye Scripture by D. Fulk. 11430.
85. The bee hyve of ye Romish Church 8<sup>o</sup> [Gilpin.] 17445 or 6.
86. Sermons of B. Iewell. 8<sup>o</sup> 14596 ff.
87. Treatise of ye Church by Phi. of Mornay. See I, 23.

<sup>1</sup> No issue of this as a separate pamphlet is recorded. In 1576 it appeared as the fourth part of *The Rocke of Regard . . . The fourth, the Orchard of Repentance*. It has a separate title-page, and is dedicated to Syr Thomas Cicill Knight. It has its catchword from the last page of Part III, and begins on Sig. K, i.e. *The Orchard of repentance: Wherein is reported, the miseries of dice, the mischiefs of quarrelling, and the fall of prodigallitie. . . . With diuers other discourses. . . . The whole worke, the inuention and collection of George Whetstons Gent. Formae nulla fides.*

<sup>2</sup> Entered S. R. (Arber, ii, 335), August 23, 1578, to Bynnmeyn: "a Displaie of popishe practises wherein is clered ye soueraigne truthe of Gods eternall predestinacon by Theodore de Beza. Englished by William Hopkinson. xvj and a copie."

<sup>3</sup> Running title: *Of the second comming of Christ.*

<sup>4</sup> The famous earthquake of April 6, 1580, which brought forth a flood of pamphlets, etc. (see Arber, S. R., ii, 367-72). Good accounts in Stow's *Chronicle* (edn. 1580, p. 1210) and Munday's *View of Sundry Examples*.



88. View of a seditious bull sent from the pope taken by Iewell B. of Sarum. 14614.
89. An other of B. Iewells Sermons 8° See No. 86.
90. An other of his expositions on the thessalonians 8° See I, 20.
91. Lectures on ye 12 articles by Hoop B. of Gloc. 8° 1219 ff.
92. Th' image of nature & grace by Richard Candish 1 8° 4879 or 80.
93. An other of B. Iewell expositions on ye thessalon. 8° See I, 20.
94. Somme of xpian fayth by Theod. Beza 8° See I, 21.
95. An other of B. Hoops lectures on ye 12 articles. See No. 91.
96. Apologie of englishe Seminaries.<sup>2</sup> 8° [by Cardinal Allen]. 369.
97. Awnswer by Wal. Travers to an epistle for ye catholickes. 24181 or 2.
98. An other of ye some of xpian faith by Theod. Beza. See I, 21.
99. A retentive against bristowes motives by D. Fulke 8° 11449.
100. An other of Trauerss awnswers to ye epistle for ye catholickes. See No. 97.
101. Quest. and awnsw. touching ye Sacram<sup>ts</sup> by Theod. Beza.<sup>3</sup>
102. An other of ye Image of grace & nature by Rc. Candish. See No. 92.
103. Countrie divinity by G. Gifford.<sup>4</sup> vellem 8° 11845 or 6. [A Briefe Discourse of certaine points of the religion . . . which may be termed the Countrie Diuinitie.]
104. The true way to reforme ye church in Italiane. vellem.
107. 3 more of ye view of ye bull taken by B. Iewell. See No. 88.
108. Coniunction of Saturne & Iupiter by Ri. Harvey.<sup>5</sup> 12910.
109. A Iesuites pamphlett awnsw. by Mr. Charke 8° 5005.
110. A Discoverie of Io. Nicolles.<sup>6</sup> 19402.
111. Exhortacion to ye feare of God. Italian.
112. Charles reple to ye Censure. 8° 5007.
113. A Discoverie of Sherwins Confession set forth by P. Whyte. 25401. [Pt. II.]<sup>7</sup>
114. Nicolles Pilgrimage of ye popes lyves. 18534.
115. Mr. Kethes Sermon made at Blanford 1561.<sup>8</sup> 14943.
116. Ye grownds of xpianitie by Alex. Gee. 11697.

<sup>1</sup> Lyson's *Environs of London* (ii, 12, p. 426) records his epitaph (1601) from the monument in the north aisle of Hornsey Church, "Promised and made by Margaret Countess of Cöberland, 1601," daughter of the Earl.

<sup>2</sup> Running title.

<sup>3</sup> Identification uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Gabriel Harvey's brother. For notes on this and I, 14, see *Elizabethan Almanacks and Prognostications, The Library*, Sept. 1931.

<sup>6</sup> Unique copy, Bodleian.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. Part II of No. 134, *An Answere unto certaine crabbed questions, pretending a real presence of Christ in the Sacraments*. Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. Running title: "A discoverie of Sherwin's confession."

<sup>8</sup> Sic, for 1571. Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. Kethe was in exile in Geneva in Mary's reign, and may have met the Earl in Switzerland. He contributed a poem to No. 139. Is best known as author of the metrical version of the 100th Psalm, "All people that on earth do dwell."

117. Christian questions, of ye poyntes of religion [See I 21a], and ye  
 117a. lieke of the sacram<sup>tes</sup> bound together, by Theodore Beza.  
 118. An other booke of ye treatise of ye church black cover red leaves  
 8<sup>o</sup> 1 16812. [Or possibly see No. 87.]  
 119. The hunting of purgatory by John Veron<sup>2</sup> in black leather 8<sup>o</sup>  
 24683.  
 120. An other of Tassoës lettres in Italian.  
 121. An other of B. Hoopers lectures on ye 12 articles bound in black  
 leather. See No. 91.  
 122. An nother on the Thessalonians by Iewell B. of Sarum. See  
 I, 20.  
 123. Xpian righteousnes translated by Mr. Feeld. 15512 ff.  
 124. Ye liefte of Charles Cardinall Lorayne. 20855.  
 125. A dialogue betweene a gent. & a popish priest. 1039.  
 126. Ye liefte and deeds of Katheren de Medicis Q. mother. 10550 or 1.  
 127. Exposition of certain words in thepistle to the romaynes. 13923.  
 128. Somie of xpian faythe of Theod. Bez. black cover. 8. See I, 21.  
 129. Ye displayinge of ye famly of love. 21181 or 2.  
 130. An nother of ye same, bothe in parchm<sup>t</sup>.  
 131. Bertram the priest of the body & blood of Christ. 20749.  
 132. Treatise of ye church w<sup>th</sup> ye some of xpian religion tied w<sup>th</sup> in it.  
 133. 8<sup>o</sup> See I, 23 & I, 21.  
 134. A confutacion of ye reall presence by P. Whyte 8<sup>o</sup> (cf. 113.) 25401.  
 135. A consolacion for a troubled conscience 8<sup>o</sup> No copy known.<sup>3</sup>  
 136. A treatise of Mr. O. Pigges upon the 1 of Peter 4 chapt. 19915.  
 [A comfortable treatise upon the latter part of the fourth chapter of  
 the first Epistle of Saint Peter.]  
 137. An other of ye same bothe in vellem 8<sup>o</sup>  
 138. A confession of ye faythe by consent of many<sup>4</sup> divers reformed  
 churches. 23554 ff.  
 139. How to obey our Superiors by Christof. Goodman.<sup>5</sup> 8<sup>o</sup> 12020.  
 [How Superior Powers ought to be obeyd of their subiects.]  
 140. Ye excellency of a xpian man translated by L. Tomson. 8<sup>o</sup>  
 15231 or 2.  
 141. Sermon by Ch. Shutt preached before ye Contesse of Cobland.<sup>6</sup>  
 22470. [A verie godlie and necessary Sermon, preached before the  
 yong Countesse of Comberland . . . the 24. of Nouember, 1577.]

<sup>1</sup> The "an other booke," suggests that this may be *A Treatise of the Church*, by Bertrande de Loque, rather than De Mornay's.

<sup>2</sup> The Woburn Abbey copy has an interesting variant in the dedication, reading "my lord Rouel, erle of Bedford," cf. B.M. copy "Russell."

<sup>3</sup> See Hazlitt, III, 46. A Consolation for troubled Consciences. [Col.] London . . . small 8vo., A-E<sub>4</sub> in eights. No regular title.

<sup>4</sup> Many deleted in MS.

<sup>5</sup> Goodman was an English minister at Geneva.

<sup>6</sup> Dedicated to Margaret, daughter of the Earl, and wife of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Shutte speaks of her "happy and welcome comming into these rude and desert partes," which has "ministered great solace to the godly." He also apologises for having in this instance preached "more compendiously

142. An other of Charkes awnsweres to a seditiocese [sic] pamphlett.  
See No. 109.
143. Calvins Catechysme. 438o ff. 144. an other of Charkes  
awnswers 8° See No. 109.
145. An other of Charkes awnswers to ye same pamphlett. 8° See  
No. 109.
146. An other of his awnswers to an other pamphlett 8° 5005 or 5008.
147. iiij Sermons of M. G. Gifford 8°<sup>1</sup> 11858. [*Four Sermons vpon  
the seauen chiefe vertues or principall effectes of sayth, and the  
doctrine of election.*]
148. Mundayes discouerie of Campion. 18270.
- 149, 50. ij other of Alex Gees bookes of ye growndes of xpianity 8° See  
No. 116.
151. An other of Mundayes discouering of Campion 8° See No. 148.
152. An other of Calvins Catechismes. 8° See No. 143.
153. An other of Charkes awnswers to a seditious pamphlett. 8°  
See No. 109.
154. A comfortable tretise for a trobled conscience by T. Spark.<sup>2</sup>  
23025. [*A short Treatise, verie Comfortable for all those Christians  
that be troubled and disquieted in theyr consciences.*]
155. Confession of Prince Frederick<sup>3</sup> 8° 11348. [*A Christian Con-  
fession of . . . Prince Friderick . . . Count Palatine.*]
156. Tretise against ye Supremacy of ye B. of Roome 8°<sup>4</sup> ? 4325 or  
18770.
157. Princes Treatise vpon ye Sacram<sup>tes</sup> 8° 20372. [*A shorte Treatise  
of the Sacramentes generally.*]
158. F. Shakleton upon ye blasing starre scene 1580.<sup>6</sup> 8° 22272. [*A  
blazyng starre or burnynge beacon seene the 10. of October laste.*]
159. Ye ripping vp of ye Popes Fardell 8° 1581.<sup>7</sup> No copy known.
160. Ye old Faithe of ye Patriarches prophettes etc. by M. Coverdale.  
4071 or 2.

perhaps, through shortnes of the time, then eyther your Honour could have desired, or I myself haue wished."

<sup>1</sup> According to the title-page these sermons were "penned from his mouth," and the dedication adds that the notes were made by a kinsman of the dedicator who was "somewhat of a readie hand."

<sup>2</sup> Only two copies known, Sion College. Sparke was Archdeacon of Lowth and preached a funeral sermon at Chenies for the Earl: see S. T. C. 23022.

<sup>3</sup> The B.M. copy is the only one in this country noted by the S. T. C.

<sup>4</sup> Possible identifications are *A Brieue Treatise, Conteynyng a . . . declaration of the Popes vsurped Primacye . . . newly translated . . . by Thomas Gressop, 1560* (dedicated to Thomas Becon); or *A tragodie or Dialoge of the vniuste vsurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome . . . translated by Master Iohn Ponet, 1549.*

<sup>5</sup> The Cambridge University Library and Sion College possess the only two copies noted by the S. T. C. Both the Earl's list and the S. R. (Arber) give the author's name as Prince, but in the printed book it is Prime. Prime is confirmed by Wood's catalog (*Athen. Oxon. Bliss*, i, 652). He became Fellow of New College in 1570.

<sup>6</sup> The Harmsworth and Huntington libraries possess the only two copies noted.

<sup>7</sup> See S. R. (Arber, ii, 387) licensed to H. Denham, January 16, 1581. Also Hazlitt, H. 369: by J. Marbeck.

161. Ye hunting of ye Fox.<sup>1</sup> 8<sup>o</sup> 24357. [*The Hunting of the Fox and the Wolfe, because they make hauocke of the sheepe of Christ Iesus.*]
162. Ye right vse of ye Sabboath by Hum. Robertes.<sup>2</sup> 8<sup>o</sup> 21090. [*An earnest complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises, practised on the Sabath day. . . . By H. Roberts, minister.*]
163. An other of Prince Frederickes confession. See No. 155.
168. 5 Catechysmes for howsholders. 6711 (or ? 66797).
169. A descripcion of an ensigne of the Popes in Ireland. 4<sup>o</sup> *Untraced.*
170. A sermon of Mr. G. Gifford vpon ye 2<sup>d</sup> of Iames. 8<sup>o</sup> 11860 or 1.
171. Ye report of Campions death by a papist. 8<sup>o</sup> 4537.
172. An awnswer to ye Duke of Albaes pardon.<sup>3</sup> 8<sup>o</sup> 540.
173. An exposition of parte of ye 5 to ye Hebrues by Mr. Dering. 6691 ff.
174. An other of ye catechysmes for howsholders, 8<sup>o</sup> See No. 168.
175. Short Quest. & awnswers of ye sofn of religion. 8<sup>o</sup> 18816 ff.
176. 4. paradoxes of ministers authorytie etc. 8<sup>o</sup> 19185.
177. Mr. Feelde of ye ofull cry of paris Garden.<sup>4</sup> 8<sup>o</sup> ? 10845. [*A godlie exhortation, by occasion of the late iudgement of God, shewed at Paris-garden.*]
178. Dyscourse of a batell betwene ye navies of Spayne & Portugall.<sup>5</sup> *No copy known.*
179. Of ye rayninge of Wheate in Suff.<sup>6</sup> *No copy known.*
180. Lambes allmesdedes.<sup>7</sup> 11047. [*A Memoriall of the famous monuments and charitable almesdeedes of the Right worshipfull Maister William Lambe Esquire.*]
181. Ye strainge end of on Ar. Miller.<sup>8</sup> *Untraced.*

<sup>1</sup> Originally published in 1554 as *The Huntyng of the Romysh Wolfe* [by Wm. Turner]. See *S. T. C.* 24356. The only two copies listed are in the B.M. and C.U.L.

<sup>2</sup> Unique copy, Cosin Library, Durham. Hazlitt describes its contents (I, 360): *Headlines*: The Right vse of the Sabaoth. Of Working vpon the Sabaoth Day. Of Plays & Games, Tavnarnes and Alehouses. Of *Silver Games*. Of Beare Bayting. Of Dicing Houses. Of Dicing Houses and Fence Scooles. Of Dauncing and Dauncing Scooles. Of Popish Priestes and Careles Ministers. The appropriateness of dedicating such a book to the Earl is obvious.

<sup>3</sup> Hazlitt (II, 413): *An Answer And True Discourse to a certain Letter lately sent by the Duke of Alba (in maner of a pardon)*. London. Middleton. 1573. Lambeth, 2 copies.

<sup>4</sup> The identification is obviously doubtful, but this is the only account of the collapse of what Stow (*Annales*) calls "the old and underpropped scaffolds" at Paris Garden, that can be traced to Field. He gives a full account of the accident, which occurred at 4 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, January 13, 1583, and names the persons who were killed.

<sup>5</sup> Hazlitt (H. 569): *A Discourse of that which happened in the battle fought between the two Nauies of Spaine and Portugall, at the Islands of Azores*. 1582. London. Purfoot.

<sup>6</sup> Entered S. R. (Arber, ii, 420) to White, February 22, 1583. "A wonderfull and strange newes which happened in the countie of Suffolk and Essex the first of februarie . . . where yt rained wheate the space of Sixe or seauen miles compasse." See also Hazlitt, H. 18. 16<sup>mo</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> B.M. and Bodley only two copies listed.

<sup>8</sup> The only account traceable is in Anthony Munday's *View of Sunday Examples*. He must have taken the information from this hitherto unrecorded pamphlet.

182. Exposition of iij psalme. *Untraced.*
183. Of ij adulterers in St. Brides. *Untraced.*
184. Gods generall pardon.<sup>1</sup> 13012. [*The General Pardon, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly conformed, by our Almightye Father . . . By Wylliam Hayward.*]
185. A preparacion to ye crosse<sup>2</sup> 16°. *No copy known.*
186. A treatise of Images Italian.<sup>3</sup> 16°. Cf. 21696.
187. [MS.]. Briefe noetis of ye conclusion of ye first epistle of Iohn & of Sinne against ye holy ghost by Mr. Chaloner. 8° written hand.
188. [MS.]. A Sermon preached by Adam Squier at ye Spittle 1577. 8° written hand.

190 bookes in that chest.

<sup>1</sup> Unique copy, C.U.L. For an account, see *Bibliographical Soc. Trans.*, iv, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Entered S. R. (Arber, ii, 372) to Kirkham, June 22, 1580. "A booke of the preparacon to the crosse and death And of the Comforte vnder the crosse and deathe."

<sup>3</sup> An Italian translation of Nicholas Sanders' *A Treatise of the Images of Christ, and of his Saints*. . . . *With a confutation of such false doctrine, as M. Iewel hath uttered in his Replie*, Louvain, 1567 (only two copies listed, Bodley and Jesus College).

## ROBERT COPLAND AND HIS *HYE WAY*

By W. G. MOORE

RECENT research has left this once well-known printer very much in the obscurity against which his life, as we see it, seems to have been an almost continuous struggle. Neglected by all save bibliographers, he has perforce been considered as one among many hack translators of Tudor times. His works, amounting to nearly a score of pamphlets and manuals on the most varied subjects, and for the most part translations from known French originals, are not calculated to encourage detailed investigation. His chief original work, *The hye way to the Spyttel hous*, was reprinted as a curiosity in 1866 and appreciated as literature by C. H. Herford twenty years later, but since then has been chiefly noticed as a social document. Tudor printing has yielded up many secrets in the last few years, and in the new light cast upon such artisans of literature as Watson and Barclay, Medwall and the Rastells, so diligent a career as that of Copland seems to lie the deeper in shadow.<sup>1</sup>

Were diligence its sole quality, things might well be left as they are; we know enough about the sixteenth century to imagine the active life of the typical industrious printer. Nor can this one be singled out from his contemporaries on grounds of technical excellence; his types show frequent traces of hasty and slovenly work, and though he must have come constantly into contact with foreign books he rarely if ever showed a desire to appropriate the skill and neatness of his fellows in Paris or in Basle. But higher claims have been made for him, and it is as author rather than as printer that his merits have been alternately disputed and upheld. These claims centre, of course, round the *Hye Way*, and they may

<sup>1</sup> The most complete account of Copland is that of H. R. Plomer in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, iii (1896), pp. 211-25. A full list of writings in H. R. Tedder's article, *D.N.B.* xii, 172, and a short notice in E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 1905. Criticism of the *Hye Way* in Hazlitt's *Remains* . . . iv, 17, 88; C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany* (1886), 357; F. W. Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery* (1907), i, 87-92.



well be subjected to fresh scrutiny, since the foundation on which they rest is, to say the least, insecure. The *Hye Way* is not, as commonly supposed, an original work, but the most interesting of Copland's adaptations from the French. It is the more instructive to note his source, and treatment of his theme, because he is here definitely in contact with the main tides of influence running in the literature of his time. Posterity has, indeed, made a sharp division in Copland's work by consigning to relative oblivion all except *Jyl of Brentford* and the *Hye Way*. The distinction is borne out by detailed examination, and without it one risks the injustice of confusing a number of obscure commercial publications with one or two of real significance for future developments in literature.

We do well to remember that our printer stands in point of time at the outset of one of the most formative periods in English literary history; he is a pioneer, rough it may be, but indefatigable, in the ranks of the Tudor translators from French whose history has yet to be written. Further, he represents in the history of Tudor poetry generally an influence that affected others more important than himself, and which in the train of Brant's *Narrenschiff* was all-important in Europe for nearly half a century. "To dub such a man a literary hack," wrote H. R. Plomer in 1896, "is to refuse him his rightful place both in the ranks of literature and those of the early English printers."

With Copland, as with many another little-known figure of his time, conjecture has been busy. He has been variously credited with living with Caxton, being apprenticed to Wynkyn de Worde, and responsible for the first appearance of "Eulenspiegel" in English dress.<sup>1</sup> Shorn of such possibilities, the known facts are just sufficient to reveal the less fascinating career of an ordinary printer and bookseller anxious to improve his prospects by adapting as much foreign material as he could lay hands upon. As early as 1508 he translated for Wynkyn de Worde a *Kalender of Shepherdes*, from the *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergers* of 1493, a book which appeared in English in at least three versions. In 1510 he translated the romance of *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre*, but this first version of the Pericles story is hardly less remotely connected with Shakespeare than the *Kalender* with Spenser.

<sup>1</sup> Plomer thinks the first supposition improbable and takes "my master Wynkyn" as a courtesy title. On William Copland's edition of *Houleglas*, see F. W. D. Brie, *Eulenspiegel in England* (Palæstra, xxvii, 1903), p. 10.

The prologue to *Appolyn* is important, as showing something of the young man's equipment as translator. We see him prepared to gather all fish into his net; this one is presented with the usual servility of a débutant:

. . . my worschypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde havynge a lytell boke of an auneynt hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyng in the cuntrye of Thyre called Appolyn concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous adventures right espoventables bryefly compyled and pyteous for to here. The which booke I Robert Coplande have me applyed for to translate out of the Frensshe language in to our maternal Englysshe tongue . . . Gladly followynge the trace of my mayster Caxton, begynnynge with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other. Wherefore I beseeche all the reders and herers of this present hystorye if there be ony thyng amysse in the translacyon to pardon myn ygnoraunt youth. . . .

It is curious to note how naïvely Copland accepts the theory of translation held by many writers of his day. They were content to regard it merely as a preventive for the sin of idleness, benefiting, of course, the scribe, the reader's profit being apparently not considered, or else assumed. Alexander Barclay introduced a compilation (which Copland knew well) in the following terms: "the special causse that moveth me to this besynes is to avoyde the execrable inconvenyences of ydilnes whyche (as saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices. . . ." Only two years afterwards the prologue to *Appolyn* informs us stiffly that "it is convenyent that translacyon be used to our recreacion and exemplyfycacyon in the avoydyng of oisivyte and ydlenes fortresse of synne."

Romances of chivalry seem to have formed an effective specific, for Appolyn was followed by the life of Ipomydon, adapted from Hue de Rotelande, and in 1512 by *The Knight of the Swanne*, which professed to contain "the lyfe and myraculous hystory of the moste noble and illustrious Helyas knyght of the swanne with the birth of the excellent knyght Godfrey of Boulyon, one of the nyne worthiest and the last of the three chrysten." It appears to have been again Wynkyn de Worde who was responsible for the choice and publication; the translator's humility is this time such as to suggest slack and clumsy work:

. . . my mayster . . . hath sought and found a true approued copye, enprinted and corrected in the frensshe language, at whose instigacyon and stirring I Robert Copland haue me applied moiening the helpe of god to reduce and translate it in to our maternal and vulgare english tonge, after the capacite and rudenesse of my weke ententement. Beseeching . . . to take no regard to the language misorned and rude, for

without hygh style and enerue industry I haue al only verbated and folowed mine auctour as nyghe as I coulde. . . .

This tone is not prompted by inexperience merely: Copland continues, even in his later publications, to consider himself as one of the minor journeymen of literature, with no illusions as to the humdrum nature of his craft. He certainly does not seem to have taken any particular pains to select what might in any sense be considered the worthiest models for translation; the pamphlets known to have come from his pen between the years 1520 and 1530 show how eclectic and even haphazard was his choice. The year 1521 sees two devotional treatises, the first "called the myroure of the chyrche made by saint Austyn of Abyndon," and further *The Golden Litany in Englysshe*, appended to a translation by Andrew Chertsey of a treatise on the Passion. We might assume a growing taste for religious works had we not in the same year *The maner of dauncyng of base daunces translated out of frenche*.<sup>1</sup>

*The Seven Sorowes that women have when theyre Husbands be deade* (placed by Plomer about 1525) is a strangely mournful compilation in which some of the verses express something approaching real emotion, despite clumsy workmanship; it is the only other of Copland's writings that will bear any comparison with *Jyl* or the *Hye Way*. He would obviously have liked to do more of this kind of versifying; in an outspoken passage he hints that the continual demand for novelties, news and trash leave to a printer no leisure. A Quidam accosts him thus:

. . . here ye any tidinges  
Of the Pope, of the Emperour or of kynges,  
Of martyne Luther or of the great Turke,  
Of this and that and how the worlde doth worke?

To which Copland comments scornfully:

So that the tongue must ever wagge and clatter  
And waste their wyndes to medle of eche matter,  
Thus ben we printers called on so fast  
That marvayle it is, how that our wittes can last.

This man's wits lasted, however, sufficiently to enable him to produce at fairly short distance of time, a new edition of Chaucer's *Assembly of foules*, a translation entitled *The Secret of secrets of Aristotyle with the Governale of Princes*, and (most interesting of all his speculations) a seaman's guide and gazetteer. The prologue is

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by F. J. Furnivall, *Capt. Cox*, p. clx, and referred to by Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, p. 52, as "one of the earliest Tudor translations from the French."

again important and displays a certain uncouth humour that we shall meet anon. We do not possess many such explicit descriptions of how sixteenth-century books found their way from one country to another.

... a lad ingenious and cyrcumspect, Mariner of the Citie of London beeing in the towne of Bourdewes bought a prety booke. Imprinted in the French language called the Rutter of the sea, conteining many proper feates of his science. And considering that it was expedient and necessary for all English men of his facultie to have it in their owne language to the erudition and safeguarde of our marchantes as other hauntinge the sea, not knowing the contents therof. The which booke he instanted me to translate into English, which overseen, me thought very difficyle to me, not knowing the termes of maryners and names of the costes and havens, for I never came on the sea, nor by no coste therof. But folowing my cotype by the advise and oversight of certain cunning men of that science which bolded and informed me in many doutes, I did undertake in doing my diligence, as a blinde horse in a mill turning the quern ignorantly, save by conducting of the Milner that setteth him on woork.

The blind horse recurs to the mind as a not unapt simile in connection with most of Copland's productions, of which we have noticed sufficient only to give an idea of the discursive nature of his activity, and to form a trustworthy, though rather drab, background for the consideration of two pamphlets of real merit. It is pleasant to turn from blundering verse and gallicised prose to the native briskness of *The hye way to the Spyttel hous*.

The title is in itself arresting, and, like the whole poem, bears a definitely English stamp that has perhaps dissuaded scholars from looking far afield for a possible original. Yet Copland has taken his title and a large part of the second half of his poem from one of the most curious French works of the time, *Le chemin de l'ospital*. Its author, Robert de Balzac, a scatter-brained adventurer, spent most of his time fighting in Italy, and, turning author towards the end of his days, wrote a military treatise and the "morality" which concerns us. The first was soon forgotten, but the *Chemin* became surprisingly popular, and was variously imitated in and outside France. To a modern reader it seems the driest and most exiguous of enumerations, a mere list of the various sorts of folk who live foolishly and have ultimate cause to regret their errors. It is only to be understood as an offshoot of the imitations of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, which were so popular in France in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have studied this popularity in some detail in *La Réforme allemande et la Littérature française* (Strasburg, 1930), pp. 204-23.

The extraordinary cult of "Fool" literature led the public to delight in, and the authors to expatiate upon, the ubiquity of folly. A theme which connected so easily the facts of everyday existence with the stock-in-trade of the moralist proved almost inexhaustible, and hence a formless contribution like that of Balzac scored as a satire by its very directness and lack of all ornament. People enjoyed the baldness of its terse descriptions and savoured the rough irony which the circumstantial title imparted to the whole :

S'ensuit le droit chemin de l'ospital et les gens qui le trouvent par leurs œuvres et manière de vivre et qui pour vraye succession et heritage doivent estre possesseurs et heritiers dudit hospital, et jouyr des privileges, droitz et prerogatives ou aultrement leur seront fait grant tort et injustice.

As Copland's relation to his source is somewhat complicated, it is well to examine more closely the fate of this little work. Assuming the *Hye Way* to have been written after 1530, Balzac's treatise would probably be over twenty years old when it came into our printer's hands. We know of at least three French editions, 1502, 1505 and 1525, and in addition two free imitations in verse somewhere about 1530, so that it is difficult to state in what form Copland came across it.<sup>1</sup> Possibly in verse, but since his borrowings show indebtedness only to the bare prose, we may assume that he turned to the original and used probably the edition of 1525. Like the majority of Balzac's imitators he did not translate the *Chemin*, but used its abbreviated descriptions for ampler ones of his own. For the servile translator which we know him to have been, this is most refreshing procedure ; his verses seem all the more full-blooded when we examine the skeleton material of his source. The first few items will be sufficient to show the character of the whole French work :

Ceux qui ont petit et dependent beaucoup.

Gens qui jouent volentiers et perdent souvent.

Gens qui n'ont pas grans prisées ne rentes et portent draps de soye et chiers habillemens.

Vieux gensdarmes qui ont gaudi en leur jeunesse. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The editions are accessible as follows : 1502 in B.M. C. 97. bb. 1. (2.), reprinted by P. Allut, *Etude . . . sur Symphorien Champier*. Lyon, 1859 ; 1505 also in B.M. C. 57. c. 36 ; 1525 in the *Catalogue Rothschild*, No. 137, reprinted by Tamizey de Larroque in *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1886, pp. 294-300. My quotations are from this last. The vogue of this work deserves a study to itself. (Cf. my contribution to the forthcoming *Kastner Miscellany*.) I had established the parallel between Copland and Balzac when I found it foreshadowed in a note of A. Pompen, *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools* (1925), p. 194, n. 4. The same note told me of a Dutch version of the *Chemin* dating from about 1600.

Now, Copland might easily have made of this but one more translation like the rest, following his "cotype" as he so often professed to do. The verbless abrupt phrases of the French would have been as acceptable to readers of Watson and Chertsey and Barclay as to those of Riviere and Drouyn. Instead of this, however, he has taken the bolder course of picking out the more striking of Balzac's examples and working them into descriptions which are rarely without life and vigour. It is difficult therefore to give any comprehensive idea of his debt except by quoting several examples. Roughly speaking, nearly one-third of Balzac's hundred and fifty odd items (several of which are repetitive) reappear in livelier guise in the *Hye Way*. The following are not the most striking of either author, but those in which the transformation of the original is best illustrated.

Gens ingratz envers Dieu et qui  
ne le servent point mais vivent et  
maintenant mauvaise vie qui tend à  
mauvaise fin.

Ceulx qui ont petit et despendent  
beaucoup.

Tresoriers, recepveurs et des-  
penciers qui demeurent longtems  
sans rendre leurs comptes, et qui  
donnent l'argent sans en avoir bon  
acquit.

Ceulx qui par faulte de repara-  
tion qu'ilz feroient bien laissent  
cheoir une maison.

. . . there cometh in this vyage  
They that toward God have no  
courage  
And to his words give none adver-  
tence,  
Eke to father and mother do not  
reverence.

All such people as have lytell to  
spend  
Wastyng it tyll it be at an end. . .

Baylyfs, stuardes, caters and renters,  
Paymasters, credytours and  
receyvers  
That be neglygent to make  
rekenynges  
Delyveryng and trustyng without  
wrytynges.

Landlordes that do no reparacyons  
But leve theyr landes in desolacyons,  
Theyr housing unkept wynd and  
water tyght  
Letyng the principals rot down  
ryght.  
And suffreth theyr tenauntes to run  
away :  
The way to our hous we can them  
not deny



Marchans qui achaptent cher et  
vendent à bon marché et à credit.

Merchaunts that beyond the sea  
bye dere  
And lend it good chepe whan thay  
be here,  
And be never payed but by the lawe :  
Here have no bedding but lye on  
the straw

Ceux qui coupent leurs chausses  
au genoil et descouppent leurs  
pourpointz et habillemens.

They that wyll not suffre theyr  
clothe hole,  
But jag and cut them with many a  
hole.

Maistres qui se fient et attendent  
du tout de leurs besognes à leurs  
serviteurs sans soy enquerir s'ilz  
les servent bien ou mal. . . .

Maistres de qui les serviteurs  
donnent du meilleur vin à grans  
potz et la chair et aultres biens à  
leurs paillardes ou ailleurs.

All maysters that let theyr ser-  
vaunts play  
Fedying them deyntely every day  
And dooth cloth and pay them as  
they sholde be  
Beyng neclygent theyr worke to  
overse,  
Suffryng them waste, and theyr  
good spill  
In theyr presence to do theyr lewd  
will.

Even more instructive than those passages which paraphrase the original are those where a brief and apparently colourless item provides the English author with the starting-point of an enumeration having the ring of circumstances noted at first hand. A case in point is Balzac's "Ceulx qui par negligence laissent pourrir le foin du pré," which appears in English thus :

Fermours and other husbandmen that be  
In grete fremes and dooth not overse  
Theyr husbandry, but leteth theyr corne rote  
Theyr hey to must, theyr shepe dye in the cote,  
Theyr land untyled, undunged and unsowen,  
Theyr medowes not defenced and unmowen,  
Theyr fruyt to perish, hangyng in the trees,  
Theyr catell scater and lose theyr honey bees.

Such instances give a not inadequate idea of Copland's debt to his original. They are sufficient to indicate (though all facts regarding the transaction, save the texts themselves, are unknown to us) a literary influence of some interest. Our blundering translator has had the wit to choose as model a production eminently suited to inspire a description of social conditions ; the terse formlessness of the French was, as indicated above, calculated to encourage free

adaptation. That of Copland is indeed so free as to allow us to presume reminiscences and consultation of the *Chemin* here and there, rather than a strict adhesion to plan and sentence.

It is not, however, with a mere amplification of a didactic sequence that we have to do. The interest of the French as well as the English work is increased by the fact that Balzac has (if we may trust the evidence of titles where none other is forthcoming) inspired an independent work more remarkable in range and originality than his own. The borrowings we have just indicated do not constitute the sole distinction of Copland's work. He has done more than fill out the skeleton portraits and subjects which the French gave him. He has created a natural and ingenious setting for the whole, giving him opportunity for that sort of verse which he has shown to be his only literary accomplishment, and finally for pictures of beggar life in England which have for most judges constituted the chief if not the only attraction of his poem.

The content of the *Hye Way* has been related more than once, and as the work itself is accessible to all in Hazlitt's reprint, all we need state here is that Copland makes a real scene out of Balzac's metaphor and conducts his poem as a dialogue between himself and the porter of a real hospital, with whom he seeks shelter on a dark night. The conversation begins, most naturally, "touchynge the cours of all suche whetherynges," and thence is directed toward the subject of the poem by the sight of poor folk gathering at the gate. The question, "Syr, I pray you, who hath of you relefe?" elicits from the porter an enumeration of the unfortunate, beggarly and rascally people who are driven to his house, until after nearly six hundred lines, Copland again changes the subject:

Tell me shortly of all folke in generall  
That come the hye way to the hospitall,

following which the porter embarks upon descriptions of the mass of fools whose prototypes are found as we have seen in the catalogue of Balzac.

Scholars have acknowledged the vigour of many of these portraits of rough men and scenes. They show a writer of whom the earlier work can give no idea, gifted with real felicity in terse phrasing and realistic description. The various types of wanderers of the day, beggars, pardoners, "rogers," quacks, are all here to the life, and some of these brief pictures have an undeniable artistic complete-

ness; <sup>1</sup> the beggar of St. Paul's, for example, who "cries till an honest man gives," and receiving at last a penny waits for his benefactor to get out of earshot, then pulls out eleven pence,

Sayeing to his felawes : Se, what here is,  
Many a knave have I called mayster for this.  
Let us go dyne, this is a symple day.

Lines so good as this last are rare, it is true, but the *Hye Way* can show several that are undoubtedly among the best that Tudor poetry has produced. A last quotation will show that purely descriptive passages can be found to equal those in dialogue; Copland is able to sustain poetically the atmosphere he has created; he enters the porch of the hospital:

To abyde the passyng of a stormy shour  
For it had snowen, and frosen very strong  
With great ysecles on the eves long  
The sharp north wynd hurled bytterly  
And with black cloudes darked was the sky.

It is no disparagement to these essential merits of the *Hye Way* to remind ourselves that its author was likely in what is by far his most circumstantial work to make use of material nearer to his hand than any foreign compilation. His theme had been popularised to a certain extent in England by a much longer poem, to which we have already referred, the translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, made by Alexander Barclay in 1508, with the title *The Shyp of Foles of the world*, a translation, as has been demonstrated, in part only. Working on diluted versions of the German, Barclay had developed and added to the various chapters so freely as to make it a thoroughly English book. His reflections and sketches of the different types of knaves and fools cover much the same ground as many of Copland's, and certain passages in the later work have a verbal resemblance to Barclay's verses. Such parallel treatment is both interesting and important to study, but it must suffice here to notice briefly those cases in which Barclay seems to be directly imitated. He had written, for example, of beggars, in lines that provoke the admiration of his latest critic:

<sup>1</sup> They should be read in the light of the historical background of which they seem to be genuine particular instances. Cf. *Liber Vagatorum* (ed. princeps 1510), P. Champion, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire des classes dangereuses en France* (appendix to L. Sainéan, *Les sources de l'argot ancien*. 2 vol. 1912); J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 1889.

They paciently theyr povertye abyde,  
 Nat for devocion of herte or of mynde,  
 But to the intent that at every tyde  
 Other mennys godes sholde them fede and fynde ;  
 But if they awchyle have ron in the wynde,  
 And in theyr hande the staf some hete hath caught,  
 They never after shall leve the beggers craft.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever these lines may mean, we recognise them in Copland's beggar :

Prolyng and pochyng to get somewhat ;  
 At every doore lumpes of bread or meat :  
 For yf the staf in his hand ones catch heat  
 Than farwell labour ; and hath such delyte  
 That thryft and honesty fro hym is quyte. . . .

Similarly his question to the porter :

How say ye by these horyble swerers,  
 These blasphemers and these God-terers  
 Come there ony this way to have socour ?

is explained by reference to Barclay's chapter "On Blasphemers," surmounted by a woodcut depicting a fool assailing the crucifix with a spear.

Balzac had with his usual brevity satirised "ceulx qui se couchent tost et se lievent tard," and Barclay treated at length, "Of the vyce of slouth" in a chapter which pictured the man who will not work :<sup>2</sup>

In no goodnes besyed is he sene  
 Save for to slepe and watche the fyre alway  
 Besy in no thynge but in vayne sport and play.

Copland seems to have both these in mind when he puts a further question to the porter :

But come none of these slouthfull folkes hyther  
 That be so unlusty, so sluggysh and lyther ?  
 That care not how the world dooth go  
 Neyther halydays nor working days also,  
 But lye in bed, tyll all masses be doone  
 Lewtryng theyr work tyll it pas noone ;  
 And so enjoye to linger and to slepe,  
 And to theyr lyvyng they take no mener kepe.

Similar echoes could be found in the treatment of usurers or in the description of the various tricks practised by beggars to obtain alms. But it must be remembered that Copland was writing of things that had been pilloried in both pulpit and pamphlet throughout the Middle Ages. His poem, like the rest of the "Fool" cycle, exhibits a last

<sup>1</sup> T. H. Jamieson's reprint of 1874, i, 304. Cf. A. Pompen, *op. cit.* 196.

<sup>2</sup> Jamieson, ii, 184-87.

flare of the true medieval satire, but enlivened, much more than the verse of Barclay, by a strangely modern and secular temper.

The various aspects of the *Hye Way* illustrated above need little summarisation to show the width of the gap which separates them from the work of Copland the translator. *Jyl of Brentford* is a much slighter piece and of little value, except as considered in connection with its predecessor.<sup>1</sup> Disreputable and vulgar as is the matter, no survey of our author's activity is complete without a brief mention of three points. In the first place, the verse is by its ease and briskness comparable in places to that we have already analysed. Further, the situation of the event described is as happy and fresh in its way as that of the *Hye Way*. Copland states that he has often heard that at Brentford

There dwelt a widow of a homly sort  
Honest in substaunce and full of sport. . . .

but he never knew her story until he met one day

John hardlesay  
A mery felaw in eche company  
Which sayd Copland : thou lookest drye. . . .

takes him to an alehouse and gives him a scroll to take home and publish. This natural introduction does not belie the talent that talked with the porter. Lastly, *Jyl* is also in its way attached to the "fool" satires; it contains the enumeration of twenty-four types of folly, some of them parallel to those of the *Hye Way*, but of no great merit since the description is so short and colourless. We have borrowers, speculators, fools neglectful of their own career,

He that gooth oft where he is not welcom  
And to his fryendes hous gooth but seldom . . .

and others equally wearisome; in this exhibition of a didactic vein that has overreached itself, Copland has also had his more illustrious predecessors.

The inferiority of *Jyl* and the unoriginal nature of his other publications seem to justify the student in thinking of our printer merely as the author of the *Hye Way*. Yet Copland's services to literature are liable to be misunderstood if he be counted, as heretofore, responsible for one vigorous dialogue only. His translations may have little technical value, but they are to be judged as the

<sup>1</sup> The work seems to have been posthumously published, though I do not see why both Ward and Furnivall put it as late as 1562. I quote from the latter's reprint of 1871.

forerunners rather than as an accompaniment of the increasingly ambitious efforts which mark the progress of the century. And without them we might not have had the *Hye Way*; the restless inquiry of which we have seen them to be proof led Copland to a work which, by its very bareness of outline, encouraged him to fill out a picture of his own, to invent where before he had been content to transcribe. The *Seven Sorowes*, too, evidence a taste for verse which, turned to more congenial matter, becomes a real talent in the two later works.

The unity of this career once admitted, we are free to recognise the *Hye Way* as an achievement giving distinction to what would have otherwise been a mediocre series of productions. Its construction deserves some of the attention hitherto accorded only to its matter. As an adaptation of a foreign source, it is an early and singularly instructive case of French influence in Tudor literature. Not even the greatest of later translators—the Berners, the Norths, or the Goldings—found a foreign text which they could treat with such freedom and skill. What seems at first sight an insignificant borrowing, and was in all probability due to a chance acquisition, illustrates in a rough way the true function of a literary source; the formless catalogue of Robert de Balzac has provoked independent and topical satire.



## THE IMPORTANCE OF JOHN ELIOT'S *ORTHO-EPIA GALLICA*

By F. YATES

IN 1928 the Fanfrolico Press reprinted under the title of *The Parlement of Pratlors*, part of an Elizabethan conversation manual for the teaching of French written by a certain John Eliot, and originally published in 1593. The reprint was edited by Mr. J. Lindsay, who had discovered the manual in the British Museum. Mr. Lindsay notes that Eliot's dialogues are somewhat lacking in the true pedagogue's seriousness of purpose; they are frivolous, even mischievous, in tone. From Eliot's prefaces it is evident that this mischievousness was intentional. The first preface is addressed "To the learned professors of the French tongue, in the famous cite of London." Here is a quotation from it:

I retired my selfe among the merrie muses, and by the worke of my pen and inke, haue dezinkhornifistibulated a fantastickall Rapsody of dialogisme, to the end that I would not be found an idle drone among so many famous teachers and professors of noble languages, who are very busie dayly in deuising and setting forth new bookes, and instructing our English gentlemen in this honorable cittie of London. . . .

Apparently he deliberately intends his "fantastickall Rapsody of dialogisme" as a joke against the teachers and professors of languages in London. At the end of his second preface he makes it still more plain that his satire is aimed at certain real persons.

I see well my preface is too long: to conclude, I will be breefe, and shake you straight by the hands, but because here are three or foure asses, I shall shake them first by the eares: here is a French tucke for thee *Timon* of Athens, here is a dash in the lips for thee *Diogenes*, dog *Cynopæan*, for thee *Momus* a mew, a zest for thee *Zoylus*, and for all Sycophants that carrie that in their tongues, that the glystering Glow-worme hath in her venomous tayle, that is fire to set mens fame on fire; a fig, a flie, a fillip: let them do their worst, for I haue done my best, and here I turne all such asses to grasse together, till I find them out another time by their long eares.

Who were these "asses"? Mr. Lindsay suggests that Eliot has in mind "the more professional teachers of French, such as Holiband and Erondell," and he notes that Eliot owes something to Florio's two books of Italian-English dialogues. Let us follow up these clues by comparing the *Ortho-epia Gallica*<sup>1</sup> with the manuals of the professional teachers.

Most of the Elizabethan conversation manuals for the teaching of modern languages borrowed many of their themes from the dialogues of Juan Luis Vives.<sup>2</sup> These were a set of dialogues, written in Latin, very popular as a text-book in schools all over Europe. Vives aimed at teaching Latin in an attractive way by presenting scenes with which the child would be familiar in his everyday life. In the first dialogue we are introduced to a boy who is just beginning the day. He is getting up, dressing, washing. When that is finished he greets his family. His little dog comes to play with him, and thereby a moral is cunningly introduced, for the father priggishly informs his son that going to school will transform him from an animal, such as the dog, into a man. The boy is then escorted to school, and the father hands him into the master's charge with the words, "I bring you this boy of mine for you to make of him a man from the beast." Many other scenes follow. We see the children in school learning the five vowels. We hear them chattering among themselves and recounting little anecdotes. They play games.

Probably the most striking of the scenes which Vives presents to his young readers are those in which he describes meals. As usual he points a moral. Scopas gives a great banquet. Every variety, almost, of bread, fruit, meat, poultry, fish seems to be provided. But at the end the departing guests, who are more righteous than polite, instead of thanking the host for his splendid entertainment, rebuke him for encouraging gluttony. "You send us home evidently beasts," they say, and they urge him to adopt a more frugal and wholesome régime. Another dialogue deals with the twin vice of drunkenness. It is a very vivid description of a banquet at which all the guests drink too much and Vives takes care to emphasise the more loathsome aspects of intemperance.

The various themes of Vives' *Colloquia* were often used, as we have said, by the writers of modern language manuals. Hollyband's

<sup>1</sup> This is the main title of Eliot's manual. "The Parlement of Praters" is a sub-title.

<sup>2</sup> English translation by Foster Watson. Dent, 1908.

*French Schoolemaister*, for instance, begins with a boy getting up in the morning and washing his hands and face. Several other themes treated in the *French Schoolemaister* look back to Vives. But there is also much originality in Hollyband's manual. As an example of this we might consider his treatment of the meal scene. He follows the Vives tradition by making a meal the subject of one of the most important dialogues, but at the same time the details of the feast which he reports seem to have been freshly observed from life. Quantities of food are consumed. The wine circulates freely and the guests grow very cheerful. Unlike Vives, Hollyband draws no temperance moral and one gathers the impression that the schoolmaster probably himself enjoyed good food and good wine quite as much as the people he describes.

Another of Hollyband's French manuals, the *French Littelton*, also shows traces of the *Colloquia*. As in Vives, a man brings his son to the schoolmaster, but whereas Vives passed over the question of the fees as being of minor importance, Hollyband discourses at some length on this subject. In his *Campo di Fior* Hollyband showed still further his respect for Vives by translating his dialogues into Italian, French, and English, and printing them in all four languages in parallel columns.

John Florio (the translator of Montaigne) was the leading writer of Italian-English manuals. In the dialogues of his *First Fruits* he had hardly used Vives at all, but his *Second Fruits* is in the Vives tradition. It starts with getting up in the morning, washing, dressing. The study of games remind one of Vives' treatment of the same subject. Florio also handles the meal scene. The usual profusion of food loads the table, but it is interesting to note that Florio reintroduces the moral tone which Hollyband had lost sight of.

A man should neuer drinke more than will serue his turne.  
Good lord how I mislike that tipling, and swilling.

One of the guests complains of feeling ill at ease, as his stomach is a little "ouercloyde." In a later dialogue Florio rather suggests that excessive eating and drinking is a peculiarly English vice.

This cramming after the English fashion, and feasting as they doo is cause of manie diseases.

Surfet, and excesse, kills more men in England than any infirmitie else.

Cosimo and Benedict, the Italians who are speaking, decide to make a light supper off a little "bisket" and a few olives.

Florio and Hollyband were specialists in Italian and French. William Stepney provided a Spanish conversation manual. His *Spanish Schoole-master* owes a great deal to Hollyband's *French Schoolemaister*, although the arrangement is slightly different. It contains the usual meal scene.

We have, then, in London about this time quite a group of pedagogues, mostly foreigners, teaching foreign languages and writing conversation manuals. Take the years 1590 to 1593. During those years the trade in conversation manuals was evidently quite brisk: 1591 saw the publication of Florio's *Second Fruits* and of Stepney's *Spanish Schoole-master*. In the same year there was a new edition of Hollyband's *Italian Schoolmaster*, whilst 1593 saw a new edition of the *French Littelton*. The manuals and their writers must have been rather in the public eye when it occurred to John Eliot to make fun of them by writing a burlesque manual, or "fantasticall Rapsody of dialogisme" in mockery of the "many teachers and professors of noble languages, who are very busie dayly in deuising and setting forth new bookes."

I believe that Eliot's burlesque is aimed, in the first place, against Vives (or rather against his dialogues, for the Spaniard himself was now dead), and secondly, against three of the writers of modern language manuals, namely Hollyband, Stepney, and Florio. These seem to me to be the three or four asses of whom he speaks in his preface.

The memory of Vives was not popular politically about the time that Eliot wrote his *Ortho-epia*. He had been a Spaniard, and in 1593 the Armada was not long past; worse still, he had supported Catherine of Aragon against her husband, which did not endear his memory to Elizabeth. Eliot rushes his "Pratlers" through the usual scenes of the Vives tradition, rising in the morning, banqueting, shopping, and so on, yet with a careless, frivolous, and sometimes positively immoral tone behind it all in strange contrast to Vives' "goody-goody" treatment of the same themes. The man who goes to the shoemaker to buy shoes runs away with them on his feet without paying. Above all it is in the banqueting scene that Eliot lets himself go. The meal scene of the *Ortho-epia* is a scene of riotous jollity with many reminiscences of Rabelais, whose disciple Eliot seems to have been, and it is defiantly entitled *The Drunken Mens Banket*. Vives, the Spaniard, had used his "meal" dialogues to inculcate lessons of temperance. Eliot, the Englishman, upholds

the native heavy feeding and hard drinking against finicky, fastidious, foreign ways and introduces the Renaissance, Rabelaisian theme of of Wine as the gate to Vision and an aid to the Muses.

Eliot plainly acknowledges, in one of his prefaces, that he had taken scenes from Vives.

And if any one say that I haue plowed with other mens heighfars, answer for me in mine absence, Countrimen, and when I am present, I will answer for my selfe : The truth is I turned ouer some few French authors, and where I espied any pretie example that might quicken the capacite of the learner, I presumed to make a peece of it flie this way, to set together the frame of my fantasticall Comedie, pulling here a wing from one, there an arme from another, from this a leg, from that a buttocke, and out of euery one I had some share for the better ornament of my worke. And to the end to defraud no man of his glory, I will tell you by whome I haue best profited : I haue taken a few pleasant conceits out of *Francis Rabelais* that merrie Grig, an example or two out of *Lewis Viues*, a score or two of verses out of *Bartasius* : and put all together that I haue bought, begd or borrowed, it will not all amount to make two sheets of printed paper, and I cannot denie but the rest is of mine owne inuention and disposition.

He admits solemnly a debt to Rabelais, Vives and Du Bartas—the mere juxtaposition of whose names is subtly ironical—and then he says no direct word of all the others, although he must have known that people would recognise the arms, legs and wings of Hollyband, Stepney, and Florio, only partially digested in his dialogues.

Let us now collect the hints at Hollyband in Eliot's manual. The dedication of the preface "To the learned professors of the French tongue, in the famous citie of London" must have been meant primarily for Hollyband who was then the leading professor of French in London. In one of the dialogues of the *Ortho-epia* Hollyband's Christian name is introduced.

Good morrow to you all my masters.

Goodday and goodyeare to you signior CLAUDIUS

There are actual borrowings from Hollyband's manuals. The scene of the guest at the inn being shown to his room and begging a kiss of the chambermaid is adapted, with a heightening of ludicrous effect, from a similar scene in the *French Schoolemaister*. Sometimes there is almost a word for word parallelism between Eliot and Hollyband. Contrast, for instance, these two scenes from the *French Littelton* and the *Ortho-epia*, in which the intending students are enquiring what the teacher's fees will be.

## HOLLYBAND

You say well : what take you by weeke ? moneth ? quarter ? the yeare ?

A shilling a weeke : a crowne, a noble, a moneth : a ryall a quarter : fiftie shillings a yeare.

It is too much : you are too deare.

## ELIOT

But I must know how much you take by the weeke, by the moneth, by the quarter, by the yeare.

I make no merchandizing with those whom I teach, for the gifts of the graces and the noble and vertuous qualities ought not to be set on sale.

Giue me what you will, halfe a crowne, if you will, a crowne, an angell, twentie shillings, fiue pounds, ten pounds, twentie markes, twentie pounds sterling, by the weeke, by the month, by the yeare.

Others teach for fiftie and two shillings by the yeare, that's tweluepence a weeke, which I will giue you willingly to be naturally instructed in the French tongue.

I care not a whit what other mercenaries do, but as for me I will not stand to bargaine in this matter.

It would seem that the worthy Hollyband was rather fond both of money and of wine. The mocking dedication of the *Ortho-epia* to the French professors harps on these two themes.

William Stepney is, I believe, another of Eliot's victims, for there are passages imitated from the *Spanish Schoole-master* in the *Ortho-epia*. For instance, Stepney had the idea of taking his people into St. Paul's to look at the "monuments and the reliques of antiquitie." Eliot also conducts his "pratlers," in the last chapter, "to Powles to see the Antiquities." We will, however, quote the following parallel passages.

## STEPNEY

All in good time, will you go to breakefast ? haue you already broken your fast ?

No not yet, what should I breake my fast before I were up, that were a new custome.

Pardon me I pray you, for it is the use of diuers dames in London, to breake their fast in their beds, and when they haue well broken

## ELIOT

You should breakefast before you be up.

That were a new guise.

Not so, many London mistresses do so, and when they haue well broken their fast, lay themselves downe againe to take a nap upon it.



## STEPNEY

their fasts, they will lye downe  
again and sleepe upon it, I thought  
you had obserued this newe cus-  
tome.

Ha, ha, ha : the Diuill take thee,  
how pleasant thou art.

Wherefore doest thou laugh  
hedgehogge ?

## ELIOT

Thinke you that I had marked  
their manner therein ?

I can not tell.

Go, go, the Dill take you, you are  
a scoffer, you are a frumper, you  
are a hedgehogge for all sawce.

We now come to the traces of satire on John Florio in the  
*Ortho-epia*. Mr. Lindsay has an inkling of some connection between  
Eliot's manual and Florio's, but he does not follow the matter up.  
The following passages from Eliot and Florio<sup>1</sup> will prove beyond  
any doubt that Eliot *must* have had Florio's manual under his eye  
when he wrote the *Ortho-epia*.

## FLORIO

Tel me, I praye you, howe like  
you the Citie of London ?

It liketh me very wel.

Haue you not ben in the country ?  
I haue been at Douer.

And no further ?

No sir, but if it please God, the  
next Sommer I wyl see al the  
country.

You shal see a fayre countrey,  
fruitfull, good ayre, plentiful of  
victualles, full of fayre women, that  
are louyng, and enuironed with the  
sea.

What drinke do they drinke in  
England, wyne, or no ?

No sir, they drinke beere, or els  
aale, made of corne.

## ELIOT

Before we go any further, tell me  
I pray you, what thinke you of this  
Citie of London ? Is it not faire  
and verie populous ?

Tis faire indeed, and liketh me  
verie well. But I cannot tell what  
to say yet, for since foure daies,  
that I am here arriued, I haue not  
stird out of my chamber, being  
wearie and tyred with so sore  
trauelling and running the post.

You haue not bene then any  
further in the country ?

No, but if it please God this  
spring I will go see all the country,  
and the best Cities.

You shall see then a goodly soyle,  
verie frutefull, verie fertill, and of a  
verie temperate aire, abounding in  
victuals, full of faire women, verie  
curteous and beautifull, and an  
lland enuironed with the sea.

Haue they no wine here, mee  
thinke that they drinke water ?

Not so sir, they drinke beere,  
which is a drinke made with barley

<sup>1</sup> From Florio's *First Fruits* and from the first part of the *Ortho-epia* (not  
reprinted by Mr. Lindsay).

## FLORIO

Which is best ? know ye that ?  
To me beere seemeth best.

Is there no wine there ?  
Yes sir, and great plentie.

Whence comes it, out of France ?  
There commeth some from  
France, some from Spaine and  
Candie.

What sortes of wine haue they ?  
They haue claret wine, red wine,  
Sacke, Muscadel, and Malmesey.

Is it deare, or cheape ?  
Claret wine, Red, and White, is  
sold for fiue pence the quart, and  
Sacke for sixe pence, Muscadel, and  
Malmesey for eight.

It is not too deare.  
No sir, but indifferent.

What good merchandise is there.  
Of al sortes.  
Are there many marchants ?  
Yea sir, great plentie.

Where do they trafique ?  
Throughout al the world.

What merchandise do they cary  
foorth ?

The best Tynne that is in the  
world is founde in England, the  
best Wool, the best Clothes, and

## ELIOT

and water brewed together, being  
a drinke very wholesome, and  
agreeing with the nature of us  
Englishmen.

Ye Frenchmen, ye drinke wine,  
you shall find wine here in great  
abundance.

Whence commeth it ?

There is that commeth from  
France, from Spaine, from Candie,  
and Rhenish wine your bellyfull.

What sortes of wine haue they ?  
They haue Claret, red, Sacke,  
Muscadine, and Malmesie.

Is it deare or good cheape ?

The Claret, red and white are  
sold for six pence a quart, Sacke for  
eight pence, Muscadine and Mal-  
mesie for ten.

It is not to deare.

No truly, it is reasonably sold,  
and for an indifferent price.

Truely it is dearer in many parts  
of France.

London, is it a Citie full of mer-  
chants ?

Yea sir, very full.

What merchandise is there ?

Of all sorts that a man can wish.

The merchants, where do they  
trafficke ?

Throughout all the world : In  
France, in Italie, in Spaine, in Bar-  
barie, in Guynea, in Bresilia, in the  
East and West Indies, in the East  
countries : in Turkie, in Arabia, in  
Persia, in Tartarie, in Russia, in  
Poland, in Bohemia : in Hungary,  
in Germany, in Frizeland, in  
Flanders, in Denmarke, in Scotland,  
in Ireland, ouer all Asia, Europe,  
Affricke, and the new America.

With what marchandize do they  
trade ?

The best Tynne in the world is  
found in England : the best wooll,  
the best cloathes and kersies, all

## FLORIO

Carsies, of al sortes of mettalles, as Golde, Syluer, Lead, Tynne, Copper, Brasse, Yron, Steele, and Brasse, and the best Safron that is in the world, great quantitie of Leather, good graine, great quantity of wood, and of beasts, as Horses, oxen, kyen, Sheepe, fayre Maares, few Goates, there be no wolues, neither beares, lions, neither serpentes, if there be any, they be brought, there is no oyle, spice, but what is brought.

## ELIOT

kinde of mettals, as gold, siluer, lead, tinne, copper, yron, steele, brasse, the best saffron that is, great quantitie of hides, of graine, much wood, and cattle, as horses, hacknies, oxen, kine, sheepe, mares.

There are verie few goates.

There are no wolues, beares, lyons, nor serpents, if they be not brought from other countries.

It may be argued that the fact of Eliot's having borrowed scenes and phrases from Vives, Hollyband, Stepney, and Florio, does not necessarily prove that he was satirising these men. It was, of course, the custom for writers to borrow from one another without acknowledgement and this was particularly true of these manual writers. They all borrowed from Vives, and Florio and Stepney both borrowed from Hollyband. It would seem as if each new manual added to a common stock of scenes and phrases upon which teachers might legitimately draw. But there is a vast difference in Eliot's use of the manual material. He uses it as a joke; he turns the serious scenes to a flippant ending. I can only beg the reader who doubts my belief that Eliot is making deliberate fun of the manual writers to obtain a copy of Mr. Lindsay's reprint and to read it through.

Moreover, in the first part of the *Ortho-epia*, which Mr. Lindsay does not reprint, there is a direct and deliberate attack upon the French and Italian teachers in London, in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and an intending pupil, which runs as follows:

Heare me a word sir: you must haue a firme purpose and a resolution to prosecute your studies, and not to doe as many of our English doe commonly, who will begin one language to day, and another to morrow: then after they haue learned a *Comm' portez vous?* in French: a *Come state?* in Italian, and a *Beso las manos*: in Spanish, they thinke themselues braue men by and by, and such fellowes as are worthie to be sent in ambassage to the great Turke.

You haue for all that in England others, gentlemen, who are greatly affected to the tongues, and some who speake them volubly and very fluently.

I haue yet seene very few of those.

You haue not haunted the Court, nor liued at London, where you

may both see and heare them : and you shall find beside at London and in other places, many others who would be very glad to learne, if ther were any learned teachers to instruct them.

What say you man ? London is full of Italians and Frenchmen, who teach their languages for wages in the Citie of London.

They Italians and French who teach heare, as some say who haue haunted with them, are a little too high minded, and doe not fit themselues long to the nature of us English.

Why say you so ?

Because they are capricious and proud.

You do them wrong in saying so, in mine opinion : there is of them as of Englishmen, both good and bad. Condemne not all for one bad one, for there are very learned men and of great knowledge refugiate and retired to London for their consciences, who teach the languages, and such as deserue to be well paid for their paines.

There are amongst them to tell troth, some honest men, so also are there some wicked heads, I say beasts or serpents, who haue empoysoned by the venime of their skill, our English nation, with the bookes of *Nicholas Machiauell*, and *Peter Aretine*, replenished with all filthinesse and vilanie, who deserue for their pains a few swings of the strapado, or some bastinadoes, and to be banished out of the kingdome of England. Such payement ought such pestiferous mates to receiue for their paines. Men should banish such plagues out of a Christian commonwealth.

You say true indeede, I haue bene scholer to one or two of them, but I like not their maner of teaching, for they will take mony before hand, and wen they are paide, they care little for their scholers profit, to instruct them the rudiments of their tongue a little, which is no great peece of worke.

What is their order in teaching ?

Tis only to read some halfe side, and to construe it, which is no great matter, and will not stay about halfe an hower to make a lecture, so that they do all things by the halves.

Italians and Frenchmen "refugiate" to London for conscience' sake, who teach their languages for wages in the City of London—this description fits Florio and Hollyband exactly. Of course there were doubtless other refugee teachers besides these two, but they were the most distinguished, and it is their manuals which are paraphrased in the text. They must have recognised themselves here and resented the slur cast on their teaching methods.

A careful comparison of Florio's two manuals with Eliot's reveals some more curious coincidences. If we look at the title-page of the *Ortho-epia* we find :

Ortho-epia Gallica  
ELIOTS FRUITS  
for the French :

with "Eliot's Fruits" given in the largest type. Was this meant to recall "Florio's First Fruits" and "Florio's Second Fruits"? Turning over Eliot's title-page we next find a dedicatory epistle in Italian. The dedication is:

Al molto Nobile e Mag<sup>co</sup> Sig<sup>re</sup> il Sig<sup>nor</sup>  
Roberto Dudleio.

Now Florio had dedicated his *First Fruits* to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. His dedication also had been in Italian, as follows:

ALL' ILL<sup>mo</sup> ET ECC<sup>mo</sup>  
S<sup>r</sup> il S<sup>r</sup> Roberto Dudleo . . .

But Florio's patron had been dead for five years when Eliot's manual was published. Who then was Eliot's "Roberto Dudleio"? Presumably Leicester's probably illegitimate son—a wild and rather mysterious youth. But I cannot help thinking that Eliot might have deliberately chosen a "Roberto Dudleio" as a patron in order to remind the reader of the dedication of Florio's first manual. Moreover, when Eliot's Italian is examined it will be found to contain mischief disguised under a pompous style.

Suogliono gli Antichi e moderni scrittori Nobiliss<sup>mo</sup> signore, di consecrare l'Opere loro alli nomi di personaggi di qualità, i quali col valor e autorità loro potranno nascondere non solamente gli errori commessi nello stile, ma anchora l'ingegno meno intendente di colui, chi la medesima opera componeua.

And why should Eliot have written a dedication in *Italian* to a French-English manual? Possibly to show off his Italian; possibly also to suggest Florio's flowery Italian style.

After the Italian dedication Eliot has the address to the "learned professors of the French tongue," from which we have already quoted. Mr. Lindsay notes that it reminds him of Florio's "bustling dedication" to Nicholas Saunder in the *Second Fruits*. I wish I had space to quote the two passages for comparison. Florio reviews the output of contemporary authors. Some are writing sonnets, some pamphlets, some plays, and amidst all this activity he feels he cannot be idle. Eliot wittily, if unkindly, parodies this by saying that he will not be found idle when so many professors are writing manuals.

The second dialogue of Part I of the *Ortho-epia* is the one which contains the paraphrase of Florio, which we have quoted, and the underlying theme of the dialogue as a whole is that things English—English palaces, English universities—are superior to those abroad.

Many little details in Florio's dialogues had revealed discontent with England and English ways. Eliot may have been intentionally putting the "high-minded" foreigner in his place by these pointed praises of English institutions.

Florio's *First Fruits* had been original in plan. He had invented scenes and conversations on topics which seemed to him of interest. But in his *Second Fruits* he had entered the Vives tradition and produced his version of the stock scenes. It would almost seem as though Eliot may have had these two types of manual in mind in his division of the *Ortho-epia*. The first part, like the *First Fruits*, is original and discursive in subject-matter; the second and third parts, like the *Second Fruits*, enter the Vives tradition and work through the usual set scenes, giving a frivolous twist to them all. It is thus easier to identify Eliot's satire of the *First Fruits* in his first part. We feel that he must be aiming directly at Florio there, since no one but Florio had written that kind of rambling description of England. But in the second and third parts of the *Ortho-epia*, where Eliot parodies the "meal" scene, the "going to bed" scene, and so on, it is much more difficult to unravel the threads of the satire, and to decide which hit is meant for Florio, which for Hollyband or Stepney, and which for Vives himself.

I think it is very probable that it was Florio who began this quarrel. His *Second Fruits* certainly contains allusions to his friend Bruno, and I believe that it contains allusions to enemies also, particularly in the ninth dialogue. It is quite possible that Eliot's attack on Florio in the *Ortho-epia* was an answer to a covert attack on Eliot in the *Second Fruits*. But I have not sufficient space to quote evidence for this suggestion here.

This jest of Eliot's against the manual writers must surely have attracted some attention in the fashionable and in the literary world. I hope at another time to trace echoes of the affair in the journalism of Harvey and Nashe, and also—with all humility and diffidence be it said—in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*.



## MIDDLETON'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION

By MARK ECCLES

### I

DYCE, who discovered nearly everything that has been known of Middleton's life, conjectured with proper caution that the poet was born "not earlier than 1570." This became in Bullen and most later writers "*circ.* 1570," which is a different matter. Professor Oliphant has rightly criticised this petrified date as much too early to be probable.<sup>1</sup>

Middleton was, in fact, christened at St. Lawrence in the Old Jewry on April 18, 1580. "Thomas sonn of will: Middleton" is the entry, not in itself a sure identification. Fortunately Middleton, alone among the playwrights of his time, furnished the heralds with a visitation pedigree, which names his parents William Middleton and Anne Snow, and an only sister Avis. "William Middleton, and Anne Snowe of this parish" were married at St. Lawrence on February 17, 1573-4, and their daughter Avis was christened on August 3, 1582. Another child was probably Bridget, baptised April 3, 1575, buried May 22, 1576. William was buried on January 14, 1585-6, and his widow remarried on November 7, 1586, at St. Lawrence: "Thomas Harvey of St. Dioniss and Ann Middleton of this parish."

The establishing of his age makes possible a better understanding of Middleton's development and turns out to be of advantage to his reputation. He was only seventeen, not twenty-seven, when he published his first poem, *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased*, on the authorship of which there long existed a curious deadlock between external and internal evidence.<sup>2</sup> Middleton's name appears in full on the title-page, in the dedication to Essex, and in the address to the readers, and it would take definite evidence to make one believe

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (New York, 1929), ii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dugdale Sykes, *N. & Q.* 148 (1925), p. 435.

that there was more than one writer of the name. If it were the work of a mature author, however, still stronger proof would be required before one could convict the dramatist of a poem which drove Bullen to frank profanity and Swinburne to the desperate summoning up of "half a dozen Thomas Middletons," one of whom must have written this "tideless and interminable sea of limitless and inexhaustible drivel."<sup>1</sup> As the work of a boy, it need not be treated as anything more than a metrical exercise. It shows only that he could compose smooth verses and that he had the perseverance to manufacture some four thousand of them, quite enough to bear witness both that he was not yet a poet, and that he was determined to become one.

It is one thing for a precocious youngster to publish verses, which nobody is obliged to read, and quite another for him to produce plays that can be acted on the stage. There is no real evidence that Middleton turned professional playwright before 1602. Henslowe's *Diary* makes it clear that he was not writing for the Admiral's until May of that year, and then his name is only inserted by afterthought as a sort of minor accomplice in *Caesar's Fall*. The chronology of his plays has not yet been seriously studied, and even the canon has until recently been taken on trust. The plays commonly assumed to be early are *The Mayor of Queenborough*, *The Old Law*, and *Blurt, Master Constable*, all of which differ in many respects from Middleton's other work.

The theory that *The Mayor of Queenborough* was Middleton's first work receives no support from the 1661 publisher's preface,<sup>2</sup> but rests entirely on Fleay's identification of the play with the *Hengist* of 1597 and the *Vortigern* of 1596.<sup>3</sup> It is true that Sir George Buc before 1621 knew *The Mayor of Queenborough* by the alternative title, *Hengist, King of Kent*, a title also found in a MS. of the play.<sup>4</sup> This is far from proving it the same play as *Vortigern* (Henslowe only once gives the name *henges*). So famous and so dramatic a story as Hengist's (treated most elaborately in the contemporary *Fatum Vortigerni*<sup>5</sup>) would naturally attract more than one author; most of the important reigns in British history were

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. Bullen, viii, 297; Mermaid ed., p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> As argued by Oliphant, *Mod. Philol.* viii (1911), 430; *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. 119; and *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Biographical Chronicle*, ii, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Marcham, *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622*, pp. 5, 6, 10; J. O. Halliwell, *Shak. Soc.* 31 (1846), 85; F. E. Schelling, *M.L.N.* xv (1900), 134.

<sup>5</sup> W. Keller, *Sh. Jahrbuch*, xxxiv (1898), 258.

dramatised twice at least. We can now no longer suppose that Middleton was the author of *Vortigern* in 1596, when he was a schoolboy of sixteen and five years before he is heard of in Henslowe. How much he may have been influenced by the earlier play is open to conjecture. But the argument that he merely revised it runs up against a stubborn fact: *The Mayor of Queenborough* was a King's play; *Vortigern* an Admiral's. Those who would identify the two have hardly considered this stumbling-block to their theory, except Fleay, and his surmise that the King's Men secured Middleton's play only after the burning of the Fortune in 1621 is made impossible by its appearance before that date in Buc's list of what can be shown to have been King's plays.

Internal evidence is equally conclusive, for *The Mayor of Queenborough's* style shows no trace of 1596. The character of the verse, in feminine and light endings, run-on lines, and the rarity of rime, is much more advanced than that of *The Phoenix* or other early plays of Middleton. The earliest date we need consider for the play is about 1606-1607, remembering that the chronicler-chorus parallels *Pericles* and *The Devil's Charter*, and that the references in v, i, to new plays called *The Whirligig* and *Gull upon Gull* suggest *Cupid's Whirligig* and *The Isle of Gulls*. The allusion to *The Wild Goose Chase* was probably added later, as were the several gags connecting the Oliver of the play with Cromwell, and perhaps the first scene of Act iv (with the doggerel of which cf. v, i, 190-91).

*The Old Law* offers another intricate problem. Once again our only concern here is with the question of the play's supposed early date. The parish clerk in III, i, 34, says that Agatha was "Born in *an.* 1540, and now tis 99." "By this infallible record" the play has generally been placed in the latter year. It can no longer be so readily assumed that Middleton was writing in the sixteenth century, any more than were the other two authors named on the title-page, Massinger and William Rowley. Playwrights do not necessarily set their scenes in the current year of grace, and '99 is too obviously suitable a number for it to be taken literally as the date of composition. A writer for the study would have chosen a birth-year easier for the clerk to alter, but the practical playwright preferred a round number to which his hearers could at once add sixty, the age of compulsory death. Instead of giving the year of the play, '99 is simply the date that would make clearest to an audience

that Agatha was within one year of the fatal threescore.<sup>1</sup> If the actors had been literalists they would have changed the dates when the play was revised. The scene, for all that it has been used since Steevens to date Middleton's work, is an excellent example, as Bullen and Stork<sup>2</sup> observe, of the unmistakable humour of Rowley; and Rowley first appears as a dramatist in 1606.

As for *Blurt, Master Constable*, it is strange that this play should so long have been accepted as Middleton's. It was published anonymously in 1602, and attributed to him only in 1661, by Kirkman, who has been followed by every later authority until Professor Oliphant.<sup>3</sup> The play throughout is in another style than Middleton's; the poetry and humour alike are quite distinct from his. As for character, we have the unconscious evidence of Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, who in his study, *The Women of Middleton and Webster*, observes that Middleton in his comedies of manners has hardly any attractive women, except Lady Cressingham in *Anything for a Quiet Life* and the admirable Imperia in *Blurt*.<sup>4</sup>

Lady Cressingham many now believe to be Webster's, and Violetta and Imperia, like the Roaring Girl, can have been drawn by only one hand: Dekker's. The evidence that Dekker was the principal author of *Blurt* is too plentiful to embark on here. It must be enough to observe that there is nothing in the play which is at all characteristic of the work of Middleton.

## II

The regularly repeated statement that the poet was probably the Thomas Middleton admitted to Gray's Inn in 1593 or the one admitted in 1596 is again an echo of Dyce's research. Although his preface is dated from Gray's Inn, Dyce wrote under the handicap of having been told that no Middleton admission records were preserved at the Inn, and he had therefore to rely on Simon Segar's collections in *Harl. MS.* 1912. The facts about the several Thomas Middletons have been in print since 1889, when Joseph Foster published *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889*. The *Register* shows that not two but three of the name were admitted

<sup>1</sup> In *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, III, iv, 2, "anno 99," as the editors observe, is an error for 1589.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Stork, *William Rowley*, p. 49, against the less convincing argument of E. C. Morris, *P.M.L.A.* xvii (1902), 64.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P.* xxiii (1926), 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Sewanee Review*, xxix (1921), 15.

in 1594-1596, and that none of these can be the dramatist. Thomas, son of John Middleton of Carlisle, Esq., entered the Inn on February 11, 1593; Thomas Myddelton "of Weston (?)"<sup>1</sup> on February 20 of the same year, and therefore too early for the poet; and Thomas Mydleton of Leighton, Lancashire, on November 3, 1596.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike the University records of the time, the Inns-of-Court registers are practically complete, the admission fee being an important source of revenue. Since no Thomas Middleton entered Lincoln's Inn, or either Temple during these years, we must dismiss the supposition that the dramatist studied at an Inn of Court, and the resulting theories as to the origin of his fondness for legal scenes and language, and for ridiculing lawyers. He may, of course, have had some brief experience of an Inn of Chancery, but it is not essential thus to account for his legal knowledge, which is not really of a professional sort. In the prominence he gave to the law he was faithfully reflecting the London life he knew so well, and his intimacy with that life sufficiently explains why he was at home in legal affairs. His own mother and stepfather, for example, were among the most regular pilgrims to Westminster Hall.

It has often been conjectured that Middleton studied at Cambridge. Ward in 1875 wrote that "It may be unhesitatingly affirmed," and in 1899 considered it at least highly probable.<sup>3</sup> Middleton's works offer good evidence that he had been at one of the Universities, but I do not find that any of it points necessarily to Cambridge. He combines a lively fellow-feeling for the poor scholar (as in his prose satires and *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*) with a quick eye for the comedy of "silly scholars new come from the university," especially if they are prosperous citizens' sons.<sup>4</sup> His precision of detail makes it likely that he is drawing on his own experience in the Ant's account in *Father Hubbard's Tales* of how he became "a poor scholar and servant to some Londoner's son, a pure cockney," by whose service he "crept into an old battler's

<sup>1</sup> Foster queries the reading, which is certainly wrong. The word is probably an abbreviation for Westmorland, where the old family of Middleton was seated at Middleton Hall.

<sup>2</sup> For whom see *Vic. Co. Hist. Lanc.*, viii, 178, and Star Chamber 8, 210/25.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, ed. 1875, ii, 67; ed. 1899, ii, 493.

<sup>4</sup> *Family of Love*, II, iv, 27; *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, I, i; III, ii; IV, i; v, iv; *Michaelmas Term*, II, iii, 449; *Your Five Gallants*, I, ii, 93; II, i, 57, etc. Cambridge is also mentioned in *Michaelmas Term*, II, iii, 96, and *Anything for a Quiet Life*, I, i, 261.

gown.”<sup>1</sup> The fact that it is such characters as Tim Yellowhammer and Sim Quomodo who are carefully labelled as from Cambridge should warn us of the possibility that the satirist was an Oxford man. Even when he sends the Ant to the University by “Hobson’s waggon,” and therefore to Cambridge, he uses the language of Oxford, speaking not of a “sizar” but of a “battler.” The “battler” appears again in his *Black Book*, not to mention “gaudy days” and “Bocardo,” characteristic of Oxford, though not peculiar to it.<sup>2</sup> Only at Oxford was there a “convocation-house.”<sup>3</sup> Incidentally, we have “the Yellowhammers in Oxfordshire, near Abingdon,” and for further evidence of Middleton’s local knowledge an allusion to “the Mayor’s bench at Oxford,” Penniless Bench.<sup>4</sup>

The Cambridge University registers generously offer us the full number of Swinburne’s half-a-dozen Thomas Middletons, but the date of birth eliminates Thomas of Emmanuel, 1587, suggested by the Venns, and Thomas of Queens’, a Bedfordshire man who took his B.A. in 1593-4. The only Thomas of the right age at Cambridge was matriculated from St. John’s about 1596.<sup>5</sup> His county is not recorded, and one would have to know more of him before concluding that Middleton might not have tried both universities. The student who may fairly be identified with the poet, however, is the Thomas Middleton of London, “pleb fil.,” who was matriculated from Queen’s College, Oxford, in April 1598, aged eighteen.<sup>6</sup> The three possible marks of identification here coincide: the age tallies with unusual precision, and it is confirmed by the residence and the social rank. For although the poet’s father bore arms and was evidently a gentleman by descent, his neighbours knew him as William Middleton, citizen and bricklayer of London, his regular style not only in legal records but in his will.

Since Middleton’s arms indicate that he descended ultimately from the Middletons of Westmorland, it is interesting that his college

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. Bullen, viii, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Bullen, viii, 43, 44; *Family of Love*, III, i, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Bullen, viii, 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, IV, i, 119; Bullen, viii, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

<sup>6</sup> A. Clark, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, II, ii, 227; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. He is to be distinguished from two others of the same name at Queen’s, one a fellow and registrar in 1584 (J. R. Magrath, *The Queen’s College*, i, 214, 223); while the other, Sir Thomas Mydleton’s son and heir, matriculated in 1604-5, entered Gray’s Inn in 1606-7 (the third of the name mentioned by Dyce), and became major-general for Parliament (cf. *D.N.B.*).



should be Queen's, a foundation principally devoted to students from Cumberland and Westmorland. It had become, however, the most popular of the Oxford colleges under Provost Robinson, who was elected Bishop of Carlisle the month after Middleton's matriculation, and his successor Provost Airay.<sup>1</sup> Whereas in 1552 Queen's had only thirty-three members, by the census of 1612 it had 267, and was the largest college in the University.<sup>2</sup>

While reading proof, I have received, through the kindness of the Keeper of the University Archives, Oxford, a rotograph of Middleton's signature at Subscription, April 7, 1598.<sup>3</sup> This puts beyond doubt the conclusion already arrived at from the evidence of his writings and of the matriculation registers. The hand is unmistakably that of the "T.M." dedications to MSS. of *A Game at Chesse*, and it is remarkable how little the formation and shading have changed in a quarter of a century.<sup>4</sup>

### III

The finding of Middleton at Oxford removes the only specific objection which has been offered against his authorship of the pseudo-Shakespearian play, *The Puritan*.<sup>5</sup> It explains why he should be familiar with quadrangles and the Welsh at Jesus College, and write of having "Battled with Discretion," the first playwright to use the verb in the Oxford sense (Heywood and Dekker give it another meaning), just as his pamphlets furnish the first instances of "battler."<sup>6</sup> The play is so thoroughly in Middleton's manner that the only question is whether it is from his own hand or a brilliant

<sup>1</sup> Airay's life in the *D.N.B.*, by Grosart, does not mention that he was one of the foremost Latin poets in the various collections of Oxford verse.

<sup>2</sup> Magrath, *op. cit.*, i, 182, 237.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. A. b. 1, f. 93.

<sup>4</sup> No example of Middleton's hand has been given by Dr. Greg in *English Literary Autographs*, but facsimiles may be seen in R. C. Bald's edition of *A Game at Chesse* (Cambridge, 1929).

This is the first signature of Middleton's which has been discovered, and it tells us that, in 1598 at least, he spelt his name "Thomas Midleton."

<sup>5</sup> Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. xxx.

<sup>6</sup> For earlier non-literary examples of "battel," see the *O.E.D.* and Weekley, *Etym. Dic. of Mod. Eng.* They record the noun as Latinised in the sixteenth century, but it occurs already in the earliest expense accounts of Queen's, for 1347-1348 (Magrath, *op. cit.*, i, 332; cf. ii, 199, on the status of a battler). The three grades of students who did not pay for commons are distinguished in Airay's bequest of 12d. apiece "to euery poore child and to euery servitor and to euery battler in the Colledge" (Magrath, *The Obituary Book of Queen's College, Oxford*, p. 98). Middleton may well have belonged to the third or partly self-supporting class.

imitation by another Oxford man, also writing for Paul's, with the same gay cynicism toward his characters, the same methods of managing his plot, even in detail, and the same tricks of language and style. The general impression might support either theory, but the more closely the play is examined the harder it is to believe in so elaborate a double. The theory of imitation seems especially difficult since, as Bullen and Dunkel<sup>1</sup> have pointed out, the clearest parallels are with a play which Middleton had not yet written, *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*.

The authors other than Middleton who wrote for Paul's, Marston, Chapman, Dekker, Webster, and Beaumont, may be safely eliminated along with Shakespeare and Jonson (the latter suggested by Professor Brooke in his argument for Marston). *The Puritan* is too light-hearted for Marston, and quite distinct in style. For a definite test one may take the oaths and interjections as words which are likely to be written spontaneously and without bothering to imitate. The best analysis of Marston's distinguishing traits gives as one of them his fondness for the interjection "why."<sup>2</sup> It occurs in *The Dutch Courtesan* fifteen times, and in *The Fawn* twenty-eight, against fifty in Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters*, fifty-four in *The Puritan*, and sixty-eight in *Your Five Gallants*. *The Puritan* has nine instances each of *puh*, *foh* (variously spelt), and *mass*. None of these occurs in *The Fawn*, nor the first in *The Dutch Courtesan*, which has *mass* once and *faugh* twice, with a character Mary Faugh; but *Your Five Gallants* has the first two seven times each and *mass* nine times. It has sixteen instances of 'sfoot to fourteen in *The Puritan*, one of God's foot in *The Dutch Courtesan*, and none in *The Fawn*. The other interjections in *The Puritan* likewise correspond with Middleton's, and his most distinctive one, *push*, which is not found in Marston, occurs here three times.

The author of *The Puritan*, as Professor Brooke remarks, "looks upon himself as belonging to the poor scholar class," and "resents in a very personal way the insults" of the sergeants. This is just Middleton's attitude, as in the autobiography of the Ant, "exceeding poor scholar," the jest, "you should be a gallant too, for you're no university scholar" (*Your Five Gallants*, v, i, 86), or the "affection for

<sup>1</sup> W. D. Dunkel, *The Dramatic Technique of Thomas Middleton in His Comedies of London Life* (Chicago, 1925), Appendix I; and "The Authorship of *The Puritan*," *P.M.L.A.*, xlv (1930), 804-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Eastward Hoe*, ed. Julia H. Harris (New Haven, 1927), p. xxxiv.

a scholar" (*No Wit*, II, iii, 270) shared by the gentleman who helped Pyeboard (Peele). Middleton's specially keen interest in the earlier university wits is made plain by his pamphlets with their references to Greene and Nashe, and their constant theatrical allusions. Of sergeants Middleton had had personal experience; so had many another writer, but he took a particular pleasure in ridiculing them. Compare "shoulder-clapt by a pewter-buttoned sergeant" (ed. Bullen, viii, 83) with "our doublets are button'd with pewter" (*Puritan*, III, iv), or Dick Dogman the sergeant, whom the devil claims as "the nearest kinsman I have" (Bullen, viii, 38-39), with Yeoman Dogson in the play.

The parallels of thought I shall pass over as susceptible to imitation, though this becomes improbable when an idea frequent in Middleton finds its most striking expression in *The Puritan*, as in "Here the chimes go presently after twelve" (v, ii; cf. Bullen, viii, 12, 35; *Your Five Gallants*, I, i, 167). An imitator is less likely to repeat inconspicuous turns of phrase, yet those characteristic of Middleton reappear in *The Puritan*: "give him his due" (I, i), "the best is" (II, i; III, iv), "Troth, you say true" (III, vi), "I should laugh at that, i'faith" (iv, ii; cf. Bullen, viii, 26). His favourite "comfort" appears seven times, beside "comfortably," "comfortablest," "uncomfortable," and in such Middletonian expressions as "I'll put you in that comfort" (III, iii; cf. III, vi; iv, ii). There are eight instances of *h'as*, with other contractions, such as *sh'as*, *'t'as*, *'t'ad*, *uppo'th'*. Middleton is particularly fond of *arch* : for examples not in the *O.E.D.* compare his *arch-pander*, *arch-tobacco-taker*, *arch-tradesmen* (Bullen, viii, 34, 42, 71) with *The Puritan's arch-conjurer*, *arch-gull* (iv, ii; v, iv). Especially to be noted is the verb *trashing* (iv, i, 37), to which the nearest parallel Brooke found was *trace*. The one other early instance in the *O.E.D.* is from Middleton, *trashed* in *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, I, iv, 63.

*The Puritan* is one of nine Jacobean plays printed as from the repertory of the Children of Paul's. Middleton wrote four of the others, and the remark of Chambers that *The Puritan* is "very likely also by Middleton"<sup>1</sup> is well supported by its agreement with Middleton's remaining comedies both in general and in detail. The next editor of Middleton should include *The Puritan* in place of *Blurt, Master Constable*.

<sup>1</sup> *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, 22.

## IV

Middleton's wife was the granddaughter of a famous musician, John Merbeck or Marbecke, organist of Windsor. His music having saved him from being burnt as a heretic, he published in 1550 the first concordance to the Bible and music for the first *Book of Common Prayer*, followed later by *The Holie History of King David* in English verse and other works.<sup>1</sup> His son, Dr. Roger Marbecke, provost of Oriel and chief of the royal physicians (also in the *D.N.B.*), is the author of a very readable *Defence of Tobacco* (1602). He has a corner in dramatic history, for when Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566 it was "in M<sup>r</sup> Marbeck's lodging" that the scholars rehearsed Edwardes' *Palamon and Arcite*. As a Christ Church man he probably had a hand in the play made by Christ Church students, *Marcus Geminus*, which won the praise of the Spanish Ambassador. He had recently been elected public orator for life, and he must have had a special enthusiasm for acting, since, though provost of Oriel at the time, he appeared in person on the stage. In a list of "Actors in y<sup>e</sup> playes," described by Dr. Boas as the earliest theatrical cast which has come down to us, Marbecke's is the first name.<sup>2</sup>

By his nuncupative will in 1605 Dr. Marbecke leaves five pounds each to "his neece Myddletoune" and to his nephew Thomas Marbeck, if he be living, otherwise half the amount to his nephew's wife.<sup>3</sup> This is interesting, because Thomas Marbeck was an actor in 1 *Tamar Cam*, an old play bought by the Admiral's Men from Alleyn in 1602, the year in which Middleton began to write for the Admiral's. In the course of two hours Marbeck was to appear as a Tartar nobleman, a spirit called Pontus, an attendant, a hostage, a ghost, a child, and a captain, and, finally, to bring up the procession as a Bactrian.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Greg marks him as a "boy," and no doubt he must have been fairly young to play a child's part, but he was evidently of age in 1605,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.N.B.* His compositions have recently been collected in *Tudor Church Music*, vol. x (1929).

<sup>2</sup> A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, I, 354; F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, pp. 101, 105, 391.

<sup>3</sup> P. C. C., 62 Hayes, made July 20, proved September 9 by his widow Christian.

<sup>4</sup> *Henslowe Papers*, pp. 144-54. Marbeck is a rare name so far from Yorkshire, and Henslowe may have meant Thomas when he listed a Richard Marbeck among his tenants in 1602-1603, next to the actor Thomas Towne in Southwark (*Henslowe's Diary*, i, 209). The entry is cancelled. The error would be easy, for Marbeck, legal records show, had married the widow of the actor Richard Allen.

and he had a son Roger christened on June 26, 1603.<sup>1</sup> The first men whom Dr. Bentley's records from the St. Saviour's register call "musician" (the plague had put a stop to playing) are Marbeck and on the same day John Spencer, apparently he who was to become "Hans Stockfisch" and the leader of an international company first heard of in 1604-1605. Since Marbeck was probably abroad in 1605, he, too, may have been strolling up and down Germany.

That Marbeck was Middleton's brother-in-law is established by the register of St. Dunstan's in the West, under date of October 25, 1577: "Thomas the sonne of Edward Marbecke baptized out of y<sup>e</sup> friers" (Whitefriars). Middleton, in his visitation pedigree, names his wife's father as Edward Marbeck, one of the Six Clerks in Chancery. Edward had other children christened at St. Dunstan's: "Benedicke," November 3, 1573; "Maulyn," July 9, 1575; and "Elizabeth," September 12, 1576. It was at All Hallows the Less, on September 10, 1571, that he married their mother, Barbara Palmer—daughter, Middleton tells us, to William Palmer, of Warwickshire.

Middleton thus appears, like Thomas Marbeck, to have met his wife through his association with the Admiral's Men. It is his earlier years, as it happens, about which there is most to be learnt from the Guildhall and Somerset House, and especially from the Record Office. The law-suits, which were a major sport among the Middletons, are too numerous to enter upon here, but they have several stories to tell, including that of the family's early connection with Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Bentley, *T.L.S.*, November 15, 1928.

## ADDENDUM ON LYLY'S SONGS

By R. WARWICK BOND

IN a recent article in the *Review of English Studies* (July 1930), I reaffirmed Lyly's authorship of the songs in Blount, 1632, and endeavoured to rebut Dr. Greg's objections of 1905. He, while admitting to me some substance in my argument from Diogenes Laertius, kindly refers me to an article by Mr. J. R. Moore (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, Septem' or 1927), which had entirely escaped my notice. Examination shows it to share Dr. Greg's belief in the seventeenth-century date of these songs and in Dekker's authorship of the bird-song in *Campaspe*, if not (as Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* i. 232) of all the others. Being as anxious for truth as any, I was quite prepared to change my view on good cause shown; but, if Dr. Greg failed to convince me, still less can I find salvation here. Spite of elaborate arrangement and clear summary of conclusions reached—the formal thesis-manner so sadly familiar—I regret to find the latter but ill-supported by his arguments. I must, however, forbear comment save on two points.

The first is that I, too, maintain "the separability of the songs," but understand it of an original separation by Lyly of the leaves on which they were copied, as in three of those in the MS. of *The Buggbears* (1564 or 1565).<sup>1</sup> Used probably in coaching the singers and never sent with the MSS. to press, nothing is more likely than the loss of some of them in the long interval. In regard to the Fairies' Song in *Endimion*, of which a slightly altered copy is found in Ravenscroft's Music-Book of 1614, the possible revival suggested by myself and Mr. Lawrence is hardly a necessity; the imperfect memorising of a pretty song heard in a theatre by some one in the audience is no uncommon occurrence, and would sufficiently account for Ravenscroft's form. In *The Woman* I take it that Lyly rather shirked trouble about the lyrics in view of his new effort to poetise the whole play, the blank verse of which attains considerable

<sup>1</sup> See my *Early Plays from the Italian*, 1911, pp. 78-9, 154-7.



beauty, as Dr. Greg's book on *Pastoral*, 1906,<sup>1</sup> seemed to admit. Is there not some metrical likeness between the first of these lyrical snatches (*The Woman*, III. ii.) and the latest of the preceding songs (*M. Bombie*, v. iii.)?

My second point is the really significant gleam I catch in Mr. Moore's article (p. 636):

Vulcan's song in *Saph.* iv. iv., is in general similar to the song of Vulcan and the Cyclops published three years earlier in Dekker's *London's Tempe* [a mayoral pageant, October 1629], and it concludes with "Holliday (Boyes) cry Holliday," almost exactly the refrain which runs through Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*. *London's Tempe*, on the other hand, has a couplet very similar to two lines in the most familiar song in *Camp*. III. v:

"Forge Cupid's quiver, bow, and arrowes,  
And our dame's coach that's drawn with sparrows"

[in *Camp*. "He stakes his Quiuer, Bow, & Arrows,  
His Mother's doues, & teeme of sparrows"]

In *London's Tempe*, too, Vulcan uses the phrase "our Lemnian hammers" as in *Sapho*, where, as Mr. Bond remarks, "the reference to Lemnos in the Ægean, Vulcan's favourite residence among the Sintians, is inappropriately conjoined with the Sicilian Cyclops."

Now this is undeniably striking, though, strangely enough, Mr. Moore has hardly used it to its worth. He fails to place it in its full relation to Lyly's play, and of its five distinct parallels omits two: (1) Dekker's stage-direction that the Cyclopes are to have "their hair black and shaggy" ("My shag-haire Cyclops" in the *Sapho* song); (2) the "pit-a-pat" of the hammers in an onomatopoeic refrain to all his six stanzas (cf. Smith Calypho's "the pit-a-pat of my Hammer" in the earlier trio at end of *Saph.* II. iii.). Otherwise Dekker's vigorous song is quite independent verbally; but his debt to the prose scenes *Saph.* IV. iv, v. i, is marked not only by Vulcan and Cyclopes at work in a forge, but by the actual presence of Cupid, for whom golden and silver arrows are being sedulously manufactured and "reached up to him." There is, of course, no *Sapho*; and Venus, who resides, is away from home, though the same relations between her and the workers are suggested as in the play. After the song, Jove, entering, protests against any idea of "keeping holiday" when vice is so prevalent and iron so much needed for its repression, and launches into a long eulogy of that metal in

<sup>1</sup> *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 232-3.

compliment to Mr. Mayor, James Campbell, ironmaster, which is no concern of ours.

Evidently Dekker is writing with a *Sapho* quarto before him; but since that has only the s.d. "The song in making of the Arrowes," and no words for any song, we cannot be sure that the parallel phrases are not original in *Londons Tempe*. We note, however, that he calls his scene "the Lemnian forge," and places Vulcan "the smith of Lemnos" therein with the Cyclopes, whose three names he gives from *Æn.* viii. 425, as well as the "Gorgon Shield" from *Il.* 437-438. Both he and Lyly must be familiar with that passage, in which Virgil canonised the later mythology associating the Sicilian Cyclopes with Vulcan and volcanic *Ætna* and *Lipari*. In l. 456, "Hæc pater *Aeoliis* properat dum *Lemnius* oris," Conington rightly explained "*Aeoliis oris*" of "Hiera, one of the *Æolian* isles between *Lipari* and *Sicily*," and in l. 440 Vulcan calls his smiths "*Aetnaei Cyclopes*." Yet Dekker by just a word or two distinctly moves us to the *Ægean*. Does he so only that we may forget an inconvenient Queen *Sapho* of *Sicily*, or is it partly to correct a slight incongruity in "*Lemnian hammers*" in another man's song of long ago? We cannot feel sure; and, similarly, prior right in the "arrows-sparrows" couplet can hardly be argued from the mere words, though the coupling of *Venus*' "doves" and sparrows in *Campaspe* seems more natural and primary than the smith's manufacture of her "coach" in *Tempe*. The contention of Lyly's opponents is, not that Dekker (b. ? 1570-1575) wrote the original songs of 1580-1590, but that, these being lost (and no loss!), Blount got other people, especially Dekker, to fill their places. Certainly the date of entry of his book (January 9, 1627/1628) allows time for that, and it does seem rather plausible that these phrases should be original in *Tempe*, and repeated shortly afterwards in songs written for Blount, where, too, a revision of Dekker's bird-note song might find a place. Well, I need not repeat what I so recently urged against all this, but will adduce two further arguments.

1. If Dekker's important co-operation were a fact, Blount's entire silence thereon and express claim to be *retrieving* songs of Lyly would be incredible. It is just Lyly's *poetic* side that he is asserting, while alluding also to his *vis comica* and his *euphuism*. Dekker, too, poor as he was, was still a dramatic notability, engaged to write mayoral pageants. If Blount might be anxious for the unity of his book, Dekker is hardly the man to consent to suppress his title to

songs himself had written. He would expect payment for them, of course ; but no real poet would barter the *credit* of his own productions for a sum of money ! It would be as a careless letting of his life-blood, a treachery to what he held most dear. Blount himself is a bookseller of repute, who, if he did not share in the printing, was recently one of the sponsors or guarantors of money for the Shakespeare Folio ; nor, if himself could descend or afford to play tricks, would the imposition be likely to pass unchallenged—Ben, for instance, despite the merit of the songs, might have fathomed the cheat and turned an Epigram.

2. One may at least suggest how all Lyly's songs in Blount may have come long before into Dekker's hands. Three of Dekker's plays had been acted by the Paul's Boys ; *Satiromastix* "privately" by the title of the 1602 quarto, *Westward Ho !* and *Northward Ho !* by similar quarto witness, 1607 in each case (Fleay i. 130, dates their production, *W. H.* "Nov. 1604," *N. H.* "c. Feb. 1605"). Some time after Lyly's death (1606) might not Dekker inquire of the Paul's company about the songs wanting in his quartos, and, the plays being now antiquated, succeed in securing them ? Probably enough this has been already suggested. But a personal connection with Lyly himself seems very likely. As a dramatist Dekker swims into our ken with Henslowe's loan of 20s. to Thos. Downton "to by a boockes of m<sup>r</sup> dickers," January 8, 1597/1598. When his *Old Fortunatus* was played at Court, Christmas 1599, it still contained in Scene i the allusion to "an almond for a parrot and crack me this nut" (the latter a sub-title of Lyly's *Pappe*) which Fleay was probably right in allocating to the older piece absorbed in Dekker's ; but has any one noticed the thirty lines of prose between two Old Men which open the Prologue at Court ? *Aut Lyly aut diabolus !* was my private comment long ago, induced far more by the balanced antithetic style than by the allusion to Pandora : I think so still, though the ensuing blank verse might be Dekker's, Lyly's or almost any one's. It was in *Old Fortunatus* that M. Feuillerat (*Lyly*, p. 485, n. 1) traced a resemblance between the hero's speech on gold at end of Scene i and the eulogy of it by Mellacrites in *Midas* i. i., as also between the pleasantries on fasting between the sons and Shadow in Scene ii and those of the Pages in *Camp*. i. ii. Dekker in 1599 seems already to have a value for Lyly's work ; while Lyly, who did not present his 2nd Petition till spring 1601, is at Christmas 1599 still dragging one weary foot upon the stage, still coaching or stage-

managing Court entertainments. On this occasion at least the two men must surely meet, perhaps on many others. It appears no unreasonable conjecture that Lyly, having kept a copy of songs in which he had probably coached the singing-boys, should on his retirement some time before his death sell or present the same to the genuine poet he would recognise in Dekker; though the Paul's Boys may be the more likely channel, agreeing better with Blount's omission of *The Woman* for which no actors are named, and of *Love's Metamorphosis* transferred 1601 to the Chapel Children; and the occasion of Dekker's acquisition might then be the reorganisation of the Paul's Boys as the King's Revels in 1607, or far later. All I am trying to show is that opportunities for such acquisition existed. But I detect no use of the songs by Dekker save that possible in that charming piece, *The Sun's Darling* of 1624, and this one, which Mr. Moore holds as original in *Londons Tempe* of 1629; indeed, in other late work, though borrowing for stage-performance would now be pretty safe, Dekker seems to eschew songs altogether. Blount, inquiring for Lyly's, might learn they were in Dekker's hands, whose poverty, if not his will, would consent to hand them over for a consideration.

One more little point. Says Blount, "This Poet sat at the Sunnes Table . . . the Lyre he played on had no borrowed strings." The second statement is shameless indeed if Dekker had written the songs he is specially parading as Lyly's; the first seems rather a poetical fetch for our bookseller, and the only other instance I know is, in fact, Dekker's, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie to the Queen's seruantes" of *If it be not good*, etc. 1612 4<sup>o</sup>., where he hopes

that the God of Poets may neuer pester your Stage with a Cherilus, nor a Suffenus . . . But if his versifying Deity sends you Any, I wish they may be such as are *worthy to sit at the Table of the Sun*. None els.

Does not this look as if Dekker had about 1630 applied the phrase to Lyly (and possibly even "such a *sonne* as they [the Muses] called their *Darling* ") in talk with Blount?

Let me add in reference to Mr. Lawrence, whose stout combating for the orthodox view first rebuked my own lethargy, that, whether it affects the birds'-note song or not, I entirely agree with his acute application of Weber's idea of a revision of *The Sun's Darling* in 1639, altering the original orientation of the piece for an approaching accession to one for a threatened "rebellion," and accordingly

explaining the inexplicable "1538" of l. i., as a misprint for 1638. The first speeches of Winter and Raybright respectively in Act v. are quite inapplicable to 1624.

In fine I suggest that the Dekker trail, pointed to by Fleay, blazed by Dr. Greg, and followed by M. Feuillerat, Mr. Moore and others, may also be followed in an opposite sense, for which I am obliged to them. In our "trouble of ants," as in those most ancient heavens above us, the latest discovery is seldom the last word.

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### BEOWULFIANA

#### (1) *Beowulf*, 1724-1768

As there is a general consensus of opinion that *Beowulf* was written about the middle of the eighth century, it is natural to assume that in the section which is commonly called "Hrothgar's Sermon" we may have a reference to contemporary English history, especially as we have among the letters of St. Boniface one which both in subject-matter and even in its language presents rather striking parallels with Hrothgar's discourse. I refer to the famous letter of St. Boniface to Æthilbald of Mercia, written, according to Jaffé (*Monumenta Moguntina*, Ep. 59, pp. 168-177), A.D. 744-747.

Æthilbald had succeeded Ceolred on the throne of Mercia in 716. The Latin Life of St. Guthlac tells us that Æthilbald had been in exile during Ceolred's reign. Having exhausted all means of human help, he had recourse to God, and was told by Guthlac that he would obtain his kingdom by divine assistance and without his agency. The prophecy was literally fulfilled; and during a long reign Æthilbald made Mercia the strongest power in England. But Æthilbald's personal character did not improve with success, and this, with the moral condition of his kingdom, called forth a letter of remonstrance from St. Boniface in which he charges the king with neglect of marriage, and of having committed fornication, particularly with nuns. He accuses Æthilbald of avarice and greed in seizing ecclesiastical property and laying exactions upon the clergy, and finally he points to the increase of infanticide resulting from licentiousness. Boniface holds up as a warning the fate of his predecessor Ceolred, who perished at a feast and went to hell.

This was no mere private letter. The contents were repeated in letters to the Archbishop of York and to Herefrith, a chaplain of Æthilbald's, and became the subject of proceedings at the great Church Council of Clovesho in 747. Boniface's warnings appear to



have been fruitless. Æthilbald was defeated at Burford in 757 by Cuthred of Wessex, and slain (according to the oldest accounts) by his gesiths in 757, in which year a correspondent of Boniface (*Mon. Mog.* p. 275) saw his soul in torment.

Such, briefly, is the setting of the letter from which I now give relevant extracts with the corresponding passages from *Beowulf*:

*Beowulf*

Hwilum he on lufan læteð hworfan  
(1725)  
monnes mōd-geþonc mæran cynnes,  
seleð him on eple eorþan wyne,  
to healdanne hleo-burh wera,  
gedeð him swa gewældene worolde  
dælas,  
side rice, þæt he his selfa ne mæg  
(1730)  
his unsnyttrum ende geþencean.

He þæt wyrse ne con  
oð þæt him on innan oferhygda dæl  
(1740)  
weaxeð ond wridað, þonne se weard  
swefeð,  
sawele hyrde—bið se slæp to fast—  
biugum gebunden, bona swiðe neah,  
se þe of flambogan fyrenum sceoteð.  
þonne bið on hreþre under helm  
drepem (1745)  
biteran stræle—him beþeorgan ne con—  
wom wundor-bebodum wergan

gastes;  
þinceð him to lytel þæt he lange  
heold  
gytað gromhydig, nallas on gylp  
seleð  
fætte beagas, ond he þa forðgesceaft  
(1750)  
forgyteð ond forgymeð þæs þe him  
ær god sealde,  
wuldres Waldend, weorðmynda  
dæl.

Hit on ende-stæf eft gelimpeð.  
þæt se lic-homa læne gedreoseð,  
fæge gefealleð; fehð oðer to, (1755)

Beoþor þe pone bealo-nið, Beowulf  
leofa  
sega betsta ond þe þæt selre geceos,  
eðe rædas; oferhyda ne gym, (1760)  
mære cempa.

*Letter of St. Boniface*

Et memor eris, quia indecens conpro-  
batur, ut imaginem Dei, quæ in te  
creata est, per luxuriam ad imaginem  
. . . maligni diaboli converteris et tu—  
quem non propria merita sed larga  
pietas Dei regem ac principem mul-  
torum constituit—te ipsum per luxu-  
riam servum maligno spiritui constituas  
(Jaffé, *Mon. Mog.*, pp. 171–172)

Præterea, fili carissime, . . . si in  
iuventute adolescentiæ tuæ putridine  
luxuriæ inquinatus et fetore adulterii  
involutus . . . quasi puteo inferni  
demersus fueras, iam tempus est ut  
. . . a diaboli laqueis resipiscas (*ibid.*  
173).

Hi duo reges (*Ceolred and Osred*) hæc  
duo peccata maxima in provinciis  
Anglorum diabolico instinctu . . .  
monstraverunt. Et in istis peccatis  
commorantes, id est in stupratione et  
adulterio nonnarum et fractura mona-  
steriorum, iusto iudicio Dei damnati, de  
culmine regali huius vite abiecti et  
immatura et terribili morte præventi, a  
luce perpetua extranei, in profundum  
inferni et tartarum abyssi demersi sunt.  
Nam Ceolredum . . . apud comites  
suos splendide epulantem, malignus  
spiritus . . . peccantem subito in in-  
saniam mentis convertit, ut . . . ad  
tormenta inferni migravit (*ibid.* 174–175).

Quapropter, fili carissime, cave tibi  
foveam, in quam vidisti coram te alios  
eccidisse. Cave tibi iacula antiqui  
hostis . . . adtende tibi a laqueo in-  
sidiatoris, in quo notos et commilitones  
tuos strangulatos et præsentem vitam  
et futuram perdere. Noli talium ad  
perditionem exempla sequi. . . . Quid  
nobis profuit superbia, aut quid divi-  
tiarum iactatio contulit nobis? Tran-  
sierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra  
(*ibid.* 175).

Præterea nuntiatum est nobis: quod  
multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monas-  
teriorum fregisses, et abstulisses inde  
quasdam facultates (*ibid.* 174).

(2) *Sendep* (*Beowulf*, l. 600)

Some further support for the meaning "feasts" assigned by the older editors to this word may be found in a passage to be found in *Byrhtferth's Manual* (ed. Crawford, 133/32), which reads:

We byddaþ þa boceras 7 þa getydde weras, þe þas þing fulfremedlice cunnon, þæt heom hefelice ne þincen þas þing þe we medomlice iungum cnihtum gesettað 7 sendað—We implore scholars and educated men who know these things perfectly not to be annoyed with these things which in our imperfect fashion we set down (or perhaps better "we set before") and serve up to young boys.

## (3) A Dragon in Fifteenth-Century England

The following dragon-story, which is connected with North Leigh in Oxfordshire, has, I think, hitherto escaped the attention of students of *Beowulf*. I am indebted for it to a book called *Historical and Other Notes on Wychwood Forest*, by John Kibble (Oxford Chronicle Co., 2s.). Speaking of the Buckingham brass in the chancel floor of North Leigh church, the writer says:

This brass to Thomas Buckingham, A.D. 1431, has more than one story. Here is one:

"A fearful monster, the horror of all men, was in Fish-hill Bottom. Buckingham came home from the wars on furlough and hearing of this dread reptile, resolved to do battle with it. Taking his sword he went alone to meet this vile thing. He succeeded in killing it, but in so doing lost his own life. They were found in the morning lying dead—he with his feet upon the monster, as depicted on the brass."

S. J. CRAWFORD.

## MIDDLE ENGLISH -ONG &gt; -UNG

THE Middle English development of Old English *a* before *-ng* has not yet been fully investigated. I propose here to summarise very briefly the present state of opinion on the subject, and to add a little new evidence on the point.

It is generally believed that the vowel was lengthened in this position in Old English, then rounded in Middle English to *ō* (slack), and (in certain dialects) made tense and finally raised to [ū]. Shortening to [u] took place subsequently in some, if not all, of the areas concerned, and from this shortened type are derived the forms *among*, *monger*, etc. [əman], [maŋgə], now in use in Received Standard

English. Proof of the existence of a raised vowel in this group (-*ung* for earlier -*ong*) is afforded (a) by rhymes with words which had -*ung* in Old English (e.g. *long* : *tung*), (b) by spellings with *u*, *ou*, in literary texts and Place-Name forms.

There seems to be a tendency at the present time to regard the development in question as a characteristic of the West Midland dialects in Middle English, and the forms such as *among* in Standard English as introductions from the West. Thus, Professor Jordan (*M. E. Grammatik*, § 31) calls it "eine Eigentümlichkeit des WML," and remarks: "sichere Belege bietet nur dieses Gebiet" (rhymes in *Gawain*, *Mirk*, *Audelay*, and spellings such as *amung* in the Ireland MS.). Professor Tolkien, in his edition of *Sir Gawain*, gives it as "N.W. Mid. and West Riding," without comment. Professor Luick (*Hist. Gr.*, §§ 367, 429 and Anm. 3) considers it chiefly a West Midland feature, and refers to rhymes in the *Alliterative Poems*, *Mirk* and *Audelay*, though he adds that a similar development may have taken place "in angrenzenden Teilen des Südens."

Morsbach (*M. E. Gram.*, 1896, §§ 88, 90, 125) considered that the change may have taken place "in manchen Gegenden." Both he and Schröer (*Angl. Beibl.* iv, 1893, p. 5) give examples of rhymes such as *stronge* : *tonge*, *longe* : *yonge*, not only from North-West Midland writers, such as *Mirk* and *Audelay*, but also from *The Owl and the Nightingale* and *St. Editha*; and of spellings with *ou* (e.g. *strounge*) in the fourteenth century *Norfolk Gilds* and in Bokenam's fifteenth-century *Lives of Saints*. Neither of these scholars seems to limit the raising of -*ong* to -*ung* to the North-West.

Quite recently, Dr. J. P. Oakden (*Allit. Poetry in M. E.*, p. 17) has suggested, from the evidence of modern dialects, that the change of -*ong* to -*ung* took place in the area north of a line drawn through N. Salop and the Wash. He states, however, that the change "is never recognised in spelling," and that "there is, therefore, no place-name evidence."

The following small collection of spellings of -*ung* for -*ong* were made some years ago, and they are now published in the hope that others may be able to supply further relevant Place-Name material.

In literary texts of the West Midlands (I have not examined East Midland texts with this point in mind) I have noted *amungus* (= among us, *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, MS. E, 560), and several examples from the Ireland MS.: *lung*, *Anturs* 5, 31, *Amadace* 13, 114, 138; *emunge*, *Avowynge* 726, 1067; *a-mung*, *Amadace* 520;

*wrunge*, *Avowynge* 591. In Place- and Personal-Names : (Cheshire) *Lungspere*, Cat. Anc. Deeds i, 21, A199 (1257); (Warwick) *le Lungelone*, Cat. Anc. Deeds iv, 441, A9607 (1327); *Lungedon*, Cat. Anc. Deeds iv, 290, A8320 (1442); (Gloucester) *le Lung*, Glos. Cartulary (thirteenth century) iii, 72, 77, 85; (Hants) *le Lung*, Cat. Anc. Deeds iv, 338, A8635 (1216/72). Less dependable, because having only a secondary stress, are such forms as *Apshunger*, Cat. Anc. Deeds iii, 433, D232 (thirteenth century), *Cheselhungre*, Cat. Anc. Deeds iv, 51, A6543 (1350), both Gloucestershire names.

Dr. Day has pointed out to me the occurrence of illustrative rhymes in *Palladius* (South-Eastern, fifteenth century), e.g. *amonge*, *stronge*, *dounge* (p. 107); *honge*, *yonge* (p. 130); *strounge*, *yonge* (pp. 51, 149), etc.

It seems hardly possible to limit the change to the North-West Midlands or even to the North Midlands, though it *may* have been more frequent in these areas. The evidence is very scanty in all districts. Probably the change took place sporadically in the East and South as well as in the North-West, and it was from one of these areas nearer London that the modern [əmaŋ], etc., came into Standard English.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

#### THOMAS FULLER AT BROADWINDSOR

BAILEY in his excellent *Life of Thomas Fuller* [London, 1874, pp. 679-80], gives the following account of Fuller's generous withdrawal of his claims to the vicarage of Broadwindsor :

It was perhaps on the same occasion [1661] . . . that he visited his old pastoral charge at Broadwindsor, now again in his own power. One John Pinney, had, it appears, been set over the church during the troubles, and him Fuller found in possession. Fuller acted in a worthy spirit in regard to the occupant of his pulpit. Coming to take possession, he heard Pinney preach, it is said ; and was so pleased with his ministrations, and their acceptance by the parishioners, that he told the latter afterwards that he would not deprive them of such a man. . . . It is not said whether Pinney received the entire income of the benefice, or was simply curate to Fuller till the death of the latter. Before January of 1662, i.e. before the passing of the Act of Uniformity, Pinney was dismissed . . . after being greatly harassed by excommunications, fines, and imprisonment [he] retired to Dublin . . . and continued there near ten years. The Revolution afforded him the means of settling among his former people in Dorsetshire. . . .

A paper signed by Fuller, now in the possession of General Sir Reginald Pinney, of Racedown, Dorsetshire, makes it apparent that the gift of the living was free and unconditioned, an act befitting Fuller's character and worthy to be recorded. The paper reads as follows :

These are to Certifie that Whereas John Pinney clerk hath for severall yeares lastpast lived in & supplied the Cure of the Vicaridge of Broadwindsor in y<sup>e</sup> County of Dorset & hath exhibited to me the unanim<sup>s</sup> desire of the Parishion<sup>s</sup> for his Continuance therein I Thomas Ffuller D<sup>r</sup> in Divinity, the late true & lawfull Incumbent thereof doe hereby declare & signifie my consent and allowance that the said John Pinny shall bee & continue in the cure & Vicaridge of Broadwindsor aforesd. To whome I doe hereby resigne & yeeld up all my right title & claime to it for ever And all dues demandes fifts w<sup>h</sup>soever I doe hereby acquit release & discharge the said John Pinny his heires executours & Administrat<sup>rs</sup> forever w<sup>ch</sup> haue bin or shall be due or payable by him or them out of the sayd Vicaridge to me my heires execut<sup>rs</sup> Administrat<sup>rs</sup> or Assignes In testimony whereof I haue hereunto set my hand this 18th day of October 1660  
In the presence of  
William Byrch  
John Baker

Tho. Fuller

The man who so won Fuller's good opinion is said by Calamy to have been "much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, a very facetious, yet grave and serious companion, and an eloquent, charming preacher." [*The Nonconformist's Memorial*, etc. . . . a new ed. by Samuel Palmer, London. 8vo. 3 vols., 1802, vol. 2, p. 119.] With the letter of Fuller's was found a writ dated "April the thirtieth, 1672," by virtue of which this John Pinney was permitted, in pursuance of the Declaration of Indulgence of March 15, 1671/2, to be a Teacher of a congregation in a room or rooms of his house "for the use of such as . . . are of the Perswasion commonly called Presbyterien." This would fix a date before which he could not have gone into Ireland. He was the ancestor of the young John Frederick Pinney who was able to make a gracious return to the world of letters of Fuller's favour by offering Racedown to Wordsworth in 1795.

BERGEN EVANS.

### A NOTE ON ROWLAND WOODWARD, THE FRIEND OF DONNE

THE late Sir Edmund Gosse concludes the first volume of his *Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899, i, 318) by saying, "There is none of Donne's friends of whom we would more gladly know more than of Rowland Woodward." He states that nothing is known of him but his name, the epistles that Donne wrote to him, and the gift to him by Donne of a copy of the *Pseudo-Martyr*; he concludes that the important Westmoreland MS. also was given to him by Donne.

Professor Grierson (*The Poems of John Donne*, 1912, II, lxxxi) disputes this conjecture about the Westmoreland MS.; and later, in the notes to the poems (ii, 146-47), adds some information about Woodward's life, taken from Mr. Pearsall Smith's *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*.

Mr. Pearsall Smith there establishes that Woodward was at Venice with Wotton in 1605; during his residence there he was sent as a spy to Milan and imprisoned by the Inquisition. In 1607, while bringing home dispatches, he was attacked by robbers in France and left for dead. On February 2, 1608, £60 was paid to his brother Thomas for Rowland's "surgeons and diets." In 1608 he entered the service of the Bishop of London. In 1625 he petitioned for a pension. In 1630 he became Deputy Master of Ceremonies, and died in 1636-1637.

There is more, however, to be found out about him than that.

The registers of St. Mary le Bowe (Index Library) contain a long list of christenings in what is clearly Woodward's family:

Aug. 23 1573.	Rowland Woodward	s. of John.
Ap. 24 1575.	Judith	d.
July 16 1576.	Thomas	s.
June 21 1577.	John	s.
Mar. 25 1579.	Baldwyne	s.
May 22 1580.	Rachel	d.
Aug. 6 1581.	Margett	d.
Feb. 27 1582.	Mary	d.

Rowland, therefore, was the eldest of a family of eight, and was born in the same year as his friend Donne.

In the Index of Hustings in the Guildhall Records Office there is the will of a John Woodward, vintner, who left assets of £400 and debts of only £30; his wife Helen is the sole executrix and there are



orphans ; but, unfortunately, none of them is named, and the parish is not given. There is no suitable will in Somerset House.

I can find nothing about Rowland's education and youth. Professor Grierson (*Poems*, ii, 130-31) attributes the verse epistles written by Donne to him to the years 1598 to 1608. The first definite information that we have of him is with Wotton as his secretary in Venice, *v. supra*.

Wotton, writing to Salisbury on July 21, 1607 (*Life and Letters*, i, 394), thanks him for his care of the wounded Woodward, whom he recommends for a reward. But Woodward apparently hoped for more from Wotton than he got, for, writing to Windebank from "Gardners-lane" on May 12, 1620 (*State Papers, Dom.*, Jas. I (*S.P.* 14) 115, 21), he complains that he has "bene hetherto fed with S<sup>r</sup> H. Wottons procrastinations" (*sic*), and is not yet "certain whether it be enterd into his thoughts to do any thing for me, and if it be, he is so inconstant, that I dare not presume."

After some news comes this :

I reserve the best part of my letter to come last, which I give you as banquetting stuffe. Your sweet sister Nell (I dare not say myne to you) is come with her Lady to towne, and hath nether lost nor gaynd (I meane any flesh) since she was put forth, and yet she sayth she hath bene in good keeping. While she sat betweene Hugh Ashton and me, her L. comes into the roome, and it may be, the story of Susanna and the two Elders came then into his Mind. She sayth that Knowle<sup>1</sup> is the sharpest ayre that ever she felt : and I answerd, while she was there, that Haynes-hill was as sharpe : because the beames of her bewty did so disperse and rarify the grosse and thick vapors, that I have ever since felt the sharpnesse of it. But she thought I iested, and so I thinke you doe : and yet

S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento ?

This little Italian makes me remember that she hath not forgot those verses which I taught her : I wisht I had taught her somewhat els which I most desyred, seeing she was so good a retayner.

Another two letters of 1620, both to Windebank (*S. P.* 14, 115, 50 : 116, 1) refer to his ill-fortune, and his "sweete Italian Scoller."

The Duke of Buckingham was in some measure his patron, for his petition (*S.P.D.*, Chas. I (*S.P.* 16) 8, 87) pleads that "ten yeares since," *i.e.* 1615, the Duke asked the King to send Woodward in "M<sup>r</sup>. Trumbulls roome to Bruxelles," which the King promised to do when Trumbull returned. Unfortunately the office ended with that return (in 1625), and Woodward pleads for a pension instead.

<sup>1</sup> The residence, of course, of the Earls of Dorset, friends and patrons of Donne.

Not much more than a year after his petition, Woodward, on January 5, 1626/7, calling himself "Gent. of St. Margaret's, Westminster," married "Ellinor Grimsditch, Spinster, 32, dau. of Henry Grimsditch" in the Chapel of Bridewell, London (Harl. Soc., "Marriage Licences"). Woodward's age is entered as forty-five, which, if he is the Rowland who was christened in 1573, is manifestly inaccurate. He may have disliked his age.

So now he might dare to say "his sweet sister Nell" (and, indeed, he does call her his sister subsequently), for his wife was the sister of Mrs. Windebank,<sup>1</sup> and of Henry Grimsditch, who owned property at Knottingly (*S.P.* 16, 230, 56; 414, 64), and secured the joint Deputyship of the Great Wardrobe in 1630 (*S.P.* 16, 187, 75); to judge by his letters and his lawsuits he was a man of character, kindness and energy.

Had not Windebank been Secretary of State we might have had nothing but the bare outline of Woodward's life; as it is, some of Woodward's letters to him (twenty-two in all) have been preserved in the Public Record Office, and are of great interest.

The majority are written at intervals during the years 1627-1631, stopping just before Donne's death. There are three subjects common to them all—the difficulties of his private affairs, *e.g.* especially in June 1630 (*S.P.* 16, 169, 4), news of affairs (on one occasion given to him by Sir Thomas Roe<sup>2</sup> (*S.P.* 16, 182, 85)), and expressions of affection and praise for his wife; occasionally she sends domestic messages to Mrs. Windebank, *e.g.* *S.P.* 16, 171, 56, concerning "a pot of her Ointment." On another occasion he sends Windebank a poem on the Prince's birth, written at Nonsuch in "quietness of mind" consequent on his appointment<sup>3</sup> (*S.P.* 16, 171, 23).

In *S.P.* 16, 171, 56 (a letter to Windebank) there is the great interest of a reference to the Earl of Westmorland, who is sending his coach halfway for Woodward and his wife to go into Northamptonshire.

By 1624 Windebank was Clerk of the Signet (*D.N.B.*); in the Signet Office Docquets from February 1627/8 to June 1630, some

<sup>1</sup> The *D.N.B.* does not give Windebank's wife; but some of Grimsditch's letters, *e.g.* *S.P.* 16, 414, 64, show that she was a sister of his.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, 1740, p. 63, there is a letter from Rowland Woodward to Roe, written from "Wymbleton," on July 3, 1622; he mentions Sir John Brooke, thereby giving a link with Donne, *v. Goase*, ii, 256.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* as Deputy Master of Ceremonies at the fee of 6s. 8d. *per diem* (Signet Office Docquets, Ind. 6808).

of the Accompts are signed by Woodward, who was presumably helping, and being helped by, Windebank.

The custody and bailiwick of Willibrook Hundred was granted in 1628 to Francis, Earl of Westmorland, and in the church in Apethorp, the Earl's seat, is an alabaster monument to "Rowlandus Woodward Armiger," erected by Eleanor, his wife, with an epitaph composed by himself (v. *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, —J. Bridges, —Rev. Peter Whalley, 1790, ii, 428, where the inscription and epitaph are given in full).

Attached to most of his letters in the Public Record Office is a seal with arms; the College of Arms finds the design rather a difficult one, but concludes that the seal is an impaled coat showing Woodward impaling Dansie, Wolverston, or perhaps Blechynden. I imagine that Dansie is the correct one. The arms given from the monument by Bridges are those of Woodward impaling Grimsditch.

M. C. DEAS.

#### FURTHER NOTE ON ASHMOLE MS. 767

IN *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* for December last (vol. vi, No. 67) Mr. Percy Simpson has continued my examination of Ashmole MS. 767 (2 and 3)—see *R.E.S.*, April 1930—and has shown that the set of vegetable emblems which Browne owned but did not compile and which he used as guide for the set of emblems he himself began is the work of Thomas Palmer. Palmer, says Mr. Simpson, "graduated B.A. from Brasenose in 1553, M.A. in 1556, became one of the primary scholars of St. John's College, and in 1563 and 1564 was Principal of Gloucester Hall. After this brief tenure of the office he retired to his estates in Essex. He was a Catholic, and 'suffered much,' says Wood, 'in his person and estate for religion's sake'."

Palmer's authorship is proved by a comparison of the matter and handwriting of Ashmole MS. 767 (2) with two of Palmer's manuscript books of emblems now in the British Museum—"Two hundred poosees devysed by Thomas Palmer" (Sloane MS. 3794) and "The Sprite of Trees and Herbes" (Add. MS. 18040). This latter collection is an amplification of the emblems in the Ashmole MS. Drayton and Ben Jonson wrote commendatory verses for it, and these two poets, friends both of Browne and Palmer, may, as Mr.

Simpson suggests, afford an explanation of how Browne came by Palmer's MS.

Mr. Simpson shows that Palmer composed the Ashmole emblems in 1598, when Browne was about eight years of age. The verses in Browne's own emblems which were incorporated in the second Book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* (1616) fix the two outside dates for Browne's work. That Browne probably acquired Palmer's MS. fairly soon after it was written and soon began to transcribe, adapt and invent his own emblems is indicated by the extremely early style of some them. Others are written in his most mature manner, which suggests that Browne kept the idea of completing the set by him over a number of years.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

#### SIR THOMAS BROWNE

IN the compilation of that very comprehensive piece of work, *A Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne*, by Geoffrey Keynes, Cambridge, 1924, so thoroughly did Dr. Keynes beat up the field that no one need expect to bag any considerable game from that quarter henceforth. I wish, however, to note one omission in connection with number 288, p. 168, which I have not seen stated elsewhere. There Dr. Keynes cites an article to be found in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xxviii année, seconde période, tome quatorzième, 1 avril, 1858, Paris . . . Londres . . . 1858, by Joseph Milsand. A bracketed note states that "A second part was promised, but seems not to have been published." The conclusion of the article appeared in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xxviii année, seconde période, tome seizième, 1 août, 1858, pp. 632-661, and is, in my fallible judgment, a more valuable contribution to the critical literature on Sir Thomas Browne than is the first.

LUCILE D. SMITH.

## REVIEWS

**The Place-Names of Sussex.** By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON, with the assistance of J. E. B. GOVER. Part I, pp. xlv + 249; Part II, pp. vii + 363. (Vols. VI and VII of the English Place-Name Society.) Cambridge: At the University Press. 1930. 40s. net.

*The Place-Names of Sussex* is one of the most important publications that have hitherto been issued by the English Place-Names Society. Sussex is a large county, so that the editors must have been faced with a sea of troubles; that they have successfully battled with and overcome the flood of place-names that the county holds is a proof that, in addition to other qualifications for such work, they have also unusual industry, perseverance and zeal. The skill and care that have been expended on the Sussex place-names does not fall below the high level that has been achieved in the production of the other volumes. The editors and their helpers are indeed to be congratulated in bringing this part of their stupendous task to a successful conclusion.

For those who know what the work entails, it is sufficient to mention that the index of names found in Sussex contains some 4,700 names, and the index of place-names not in Sussex contains some 460 names.

The particular importance of these two volumes is in the evidence they supply for the reliability of the West Saxon Annals, and in their proof of the archaic nature of the habitation of the county. As to the evidence, the Introduction says: "The three annals which relate to the conquest of Sussex agree very closely with the course of events to be inferred from the place-names of the modern county." And as to the antiquity of settlement, it says "the local nomenclature . . . has a very archaic character. . . . But although the Old English material for Hampshire place-names is singularly rich, it has produced little indication of a local vocabulary corresponding either in age or variety to that of Sussex."

The Introduction confirms many of the details concerning the early condition of the Weald that careful scholars have proposed; among other things it says "much of it appears as swine-pasture appurtenant to the villages of the more habitable south of the shire, and its local nomenclature is that of a race of herdsmen, living with scattered settlements, and preserving in their isolation names of which many must descend from the seventh, if not the sixth century." But there are two small points in this part of the Introduction which seem to give a wrong impression; the Weald is spoken of as being "heavily wooded and ill-watered"; one may well ask if it is possible for a heavily-wooded area, almost encircled by downs, to be ill-watered, especially when clays predominate in many districts. The Weald of to-day can hardly be described as ill-watered; whereas in early Saxon times its huge tracts of forest must have turned its hollows and dales and low-lying lands into marsh and bog. Surely "ill-drained" should be read for "ill-watered"?

The second point seems of more consequence. When one tries to explain the isolation of the South Saxons one has to consider roads and tracks, and so the question occurs: What centres of trade and travel were there between Canterbury and Chichester? It appears that isolation was chiefly due to the weakness of the lines of communication of the South Saxons. That is to say, communication with the outside world. Now this vital point is passed over in the Introduction, and we have to be satisfied with, "its whole nature would disprove, if disproof were needed, the idea that the Weald formed a trackless wilderness in early Saxon times," whereas, while it is obvious that tracks spredeagled out into the forest from every farm and village settlement, the existence of *through* routes is unproven. Certainly, there was Stane Street, but if there were no, or very poor, links with the other kingdoms, we have then one fact at least which explains how the South Saxons as a race kept their distinctive features, although their lands marched with those of the men of Kent (or is it the Kentish Men?), and with those of Hampshire and Surrey. And we can then estimate the value of the Wealden forests and marshes as a barrier which caused most of the South Saxon families to live "in the Sea-Plain or at the foot of the Downs." We are given no clue concerning through-routes, and consequently Place-Name study has not so far thrown any light on the route by which Harold marched his army from his Thames-crossing to Senlac.



These two volumes are Numbers VI and VII of the series, and so it is evident that the editors have decided to complete these surveys with an arrangement and presentation which is to remain unchanged, and with a selection of material made on similar lines. This desire for uniformity is, indeed, most unfortunate. What facts to present, and the presentation of those facts, were, of course, deliberated upon at length; but, good as these volumes are, one cannot refrain from noticing how here and there certain simple and practical improvements could be made. The editors, no doubt, have good reasons for not trying to improve each volume on its predecessor; but one hopes it is not too late to make certain alterations in the Place-Names Surveys that are yet to come. Two improvements are particularly desired by readers who have not a wide vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon nouns and adjectives, and who have not had the good fortune to handle the raw material of these surveys or to use the published volumes constantly. Such a reader continually finds himself rebuffed. For instance, he is very frequently referred to the volume entitled *Chief Elements in English Place-Names* for the modern English equivalent of Anglo-Saxon words. This method of conveying information is, in this case, most unsatisfactory. Supposing the reader carries his two volumes into the heart of Sussex, to tramp during the day, and in the evenings to pore over his local histories, maps and place-names—is he to be burdened with yet a third volume? Again, if a reader is using the volumes in a hurry, or if he has a large number of names to which he wishes to refer, he finds it extremely annoying to have to dip every now and again into a third volume after having searched in the index in Volume VII to find a name that is in Volume VI. A book of reference should give a reader as much help as is possible: these surveys do not, though they might well do so. Surely, in the succeeding volumes, it would be no great or unprofitable innovation if on every occasion an explanation of the Anglo-Saxon word were given; for example, instead of “ORE . . . v. ora,” we had “v. ora = bank.” To withhold such information throughout seems most unnecessary.

Another objection, as valid as the one mentioned above, is that a reader very often has difficulty in finding his way about the books, and takes a long time to learn how to use them skilfully. He turns up, shall we say, Pulborough, for he has been there a-fishing. He then wishes to look up Hardham, Stopham and Fittleworth; he

turns from P. to H., and finds that Hardham is not in that Hundred; he finds Stopham and turns the leaves over to visit Fittleworth and cannot find it; after looking Fittleworth up in the index, he finds he is back again in the Bury Hundred. All this is most aggravating—unless he knows his Hundreds, and who does? Now, he has two methods of getting his information in a handy fashion. First, by using the index every time—a good method; but then he has to have Vol. VII with him always; whereas the Hundreds he is visiting may all be in Vol. VI. It follows, therefore, if these books are to be of real use and if they are to be a pleasure to read, that there should be an index to Vol. VI of all the names in that volume.

The second method would be to make constant use of the map that is provided; but this is impossible unless the reader has a large table, or, failing that, ample space on the floor. Still more so is it if the reader happens to be out of doors, for then he will need at least two extra helping pairs of hands if the thing is to be done featly. To help the reader materially and to make these books serviceable, there should be a map of each Hundred adjacent to the names of that Hundred. This would mean only reproducing small portions of the large map, which is really too unwieldy for practical use.

In spite of the disadvantages of awkward reference which naturally must follow from such peculiarly intractable material, all those who are interested in the study of place-names—and there are a very large number of such people, not only among men and women of learning and scholarship, but also among men and women who earn their living as honourably by working with their hands—will be grateful for these two valuable books, so full of wealth and interest.

P. GURREY.

**Selected Works of Richard Rolle, Hermit.** Transcribed, with an Introduction. By G. C. HESELTINE. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. Pp. xxxv+245. 8s. 6d. net.

THE word "transcribed" used of the versions of Rolle's works contained in this volume is a misleading one; Mr. Heseltine himself explains, in his so-called "Transcriber's Note," that he has written a "translation" intended for the "average reader of

devotional works." Actually his versions are further from the manuscripts than most recent "modernisations." The translator rightly objects that many recent renderings defeat their own purpose by retaining the obsolete words of the original or words whose sense has radically changed since Rolle used them. He accordingly discards archaisms and renders Rolle's ideas in modern prose, often with considerable success, though he occasionally ignores the exact meaning of a Middle-English word. An instance is to be found on p. 41 (*Form of Living*), where the Middle-English words "noght ouercomen" (Rawlinson MS. "vnouercommene") are translated "unsurpassable."

The least successful parts of the book are the renderings of the passages of verse which are found embedded in Rolle's English writings where his emotion is too strong for prose. Mr. Heseltine says that in such passages he has resorted to wholesale "paraphrase," but his method in, for example, the verses with which *Ego Dormio* concludes would sometimes be better described by the word "invention." A similar criticism can be made of his renderings of Rolle's translations from the Latin in the *Canticles*. In translating "Bifore shorne is of the wefand my life : whils zit i bigan he sheris me down" by "My life is cut off as by the weaver ; whilst I yet begin he cuts me down" he has improved Rolle's miserable rendering out of all recognition.

Mr. Heseltine's brief introduction, dealing with Rolle's life and the characteristics of his mysticism, is not always to be relied upon for accurate statements or sound judgment. He tells us that Rolle was the "first to write in that amalgam of Old English, Norman-French, and Latin which was the basis of modern English," and even if the words "to any appreciable extent since the Conquest," which appear in the first half of the sentence, are intended to qualify the statement, it remains a questionable one. Still less well founded is the remark that Rolle "began to formalise the spelling" of English. Recent efforts to determine the canon of Rolle's works are dismissed as "discussions of no more than academic value," yet without them Mr. Heseltine could not have made the statement that "authorities are fairly well agreed on the principal works attributed to him."

DOROTHY EVERETT.

**Die Sprache Caxtons.** Von HELMUT WIENCKE. Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, Band 11. Leipzig. 1930. Pp. 226. R.M. 14.

It was in 1890 that Hermann Römstedt made the first philological study of Caxton's English at the University of Göttingen; the present work of Dr. Wiencke expands and elaborates it into a completed system. The result is a book in the best tradition of German statistical philology, but which is, of its nature, quite unreadable to any but the seasoned philologist.

The writer draws a very necessary line of demarcation between those books of which Caxton was the mere printer, and those wherein his powers as translator or creator were involved. It follows therefore that the Chaucer editions, English versions of foreign works by Lord Rivers and others, and works in the foreign vernacular are not contained in the field of consideration, and while the prologues, epilogues and the additions to the *Polycronicon* are the ideal subject-matter for the study, it had to be augmented by works which Caxton himself translated from the French or Dutch. This was still a plethora of material and Dr. Wiencke has chosen four works at chronological intervals in Caxton's life as a printer:

*The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1475),

*Jason* (late 1477),

*Æsop* (1484), and

*Eneydos*, "oute of frenshe reduced in to Englysshe . . . the yere of our lord M. iiij. Clxxxx," so that if Caxton had at first the echoes of French and Flemish speech still ringing in his ears when he returned to England, this should not have persisted to the later works.

Taking the mass of words offered by these texts, Dr. Wiencke has patiently analysed their spellings; first under the great divisions Germanic and Romance; then vowel by vowel from Old English, Old French or Norman and in consonant groups, and again syntactically. The proportions of one form to another are here carefully set down in relation to the earlier or later works, but the conclusion is very difficult to draw from out the statistical mass. Perhaps we must wait, as the author modestly deems necessary, until further monumental works are available. There will always, however, lurk a dreadful suspicion as to the validity of phonological arguments drawn from printed texts. If the typographer sets up a triple "ooo" a number of times without noticing it (or without

caring, if he did), how sure can one be when he intends a double "oo" and not "o"? When the convention of end-lining was once established the difficulty became greater: extra letters were sprinkled over the words with a liberal indiscrimination. Caxton was book-lover, scholar, literary critic, diplomatist and tradesman: can we expect of him also Orm's love of meticulous grammar?

W. J. BLYTH CROTCH.

**Prediche italiane ai Fiorentini.** SAVONAROLA. A cura di F. COGNASSO. I. Novembre e Dicembre 1494. II. Giorni festivi del 1495. Perugia-Venezia, "La Nuova Italia" editrice. 1930. 2 vols. Pp. xvi+367, lire 35; and pp. x+446, lire 45.

SAVONAROLA's sermons were not meant for publication in print. The Friar would prepare only a very sketchy outline, and then extemporise the sermon in the pulpit itself, as he was inspired by the contrast between his purpose and the passions of the audience. The sermons were taken down by some of the faithful, chiefly a notary, Lorenzo Violi, and a friar, Stefano di Codiponte. Thanks to these two disciples, we are enabled to capture an echo of what must have been the fiery eloquence of the new prophet, but it is hardly more than an echo. The abstract, generic references, the crude antitheses, the verbose parables, which form an abiding characteristic of these, as indeed of most, sermons, must have appealed to the contemporaries thanks to the powerful personality of Savonarola, but require an unusual amount of imagination on the part of the modern reader to be clothed again with life. However, from a historical point of view, the importance of this new edition needs hardly emphasising. Savonarola's was the last voice of a free Italy to be heard for a long time. His stature towered above those of his Italian contemporaries. This "uomo salvatico" belonged to the religious and vigorous Middle Ages, or to a future era which was to be long in dawning. Round him rallied what was left of the earnest spirit of old in a sceptical, pleasure-seeking Florence.

MARIO PRAZ.

**More's Utopia and his Social Teaching.** By W. E. CAMPBELL. Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd. 1930. Pp. 164. 7s. 6d.

It is difficult to know how to review this book without offence. One wishes to treat it with every respect; it is very much in earnest,

serious, "the result of a good many years of pondering upon the connection between the religious and social philosophy of Sir Thomas More." Yet, to one reader at least, it has brought no light, although here and there it has generated some heat. Mr. Campbell writes from the Roman Catholic point of view, and his book makes many assertions and assumptions that the non-Catholic reader cannot grant, or at least for which he wants much more evidence than is vouchsafed here. Take as an example the statement on page 24: "There is little doubt that [More] himself regarded the *Utopia* as one of the least serious of his works." Our criticism of *Utopia* may reasonably be conditioned by our acceptance or otherwise of this statement, yet we are given no indication by the author of the reasons that prompted him to make it, or of the evidence upon which it is based. Again and again we are arrested by similar hypothetical assertions, or by pages of religious-philosophical-mystical ruminations. Those who share Mr. Campbell's beliefs and standpoint may find guidance from this volume, but it has little of interest for the historian, and still less for the English specialist proper.

H. S. B.

**The Apologie of Syr Thomas More, Knyght.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by ARTHUR IRVING TAFT, Ph.D., Early English Text Society. Vol. 180. Humphrey Milford. 1930. Pp. lxxxvi+365. 30s. net.

ALL students of the work of Sir Thomas More will be glad to possess this book. In it Dr. Taft has reprinted the *Apology* from the first edition (a Quarto of 1533), and, by a happy thought, has included the important anonymous work, *A Treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporaltie*, which was the immediate cause of More's writing the *Apology*. Dr. Taft is a determined admirer of More; and, throughout his Introduction and Notes, insists a little too urgently on More's correctness and on all his opponents' incorrectness for my liking. The opinions of More's opponents are often termed "slanders," and he makes no bones about referring to Saint Germain as one "who professed, and occasionally seemed, to be a Catholic" (p. xliii), although M. Delcourt in his *Essai sur la langue de Sir T. More* more properly speaks of him as a "juriste d'une orthodoxie incontestée" (p. 42). With



this reservation, however, the Introduction may be heartily commended, not only as an Introduction to the *Apology*, but as a general introduction to all More's controversial works. Dr. Taft has covered much ground, and both here and in his notes offers the reader a great deal of help.

As to the *Apology* itself, there is much to be said, but the pages of this *Review* are not the most fitting place to say it, for after all the abiding interest of the *Apology* is ecclesiastical and not literary. More, as M. Delcourt has remarked, "More n'est pas un pur artiste. S'il écrit, ce n'est pas tant pour son plaisir que pour éclairer ses contemporains sur les querelles du jour et sur la science de la vie." So the main interest of the *Apology* is bound up with the way in which More deals with the pamphlet he is answering, and the ideas concerning life and religion he throws out in the course of his argument. Every student of More will enjoy the opportunity now afforded him of considering at his leisure the plea of Saint Germain (the anonymous pamphleteer) and the counterplea of Sir Thomas More.

One section of the Introduction, however, in which Dr. Taft deals with More's style, is specially interesting to readers of this *Review*. Naturally he is unable in his limited space to add to M. Delcourt's detailed observations, but the editor indicates well More's general characteristics, and his belief in English as a language, and his love and knowledge of his native tongue are well shown. Dr. Taft shares with M. Delcourt a high opinion of More's writing and quotes with approval M. Delcourt's praise, "il n'est pas trop injuste d'affirmer qu'il fut bien le premier maître qu'ait eu la prose anglaise, et en un sens le fondateur de la littérature anglaise moderne" (p. 311). This seems to be over-stating the value of More's contribution to our prose very considerably, and it would have been interesting if Dr. Taft had given us a more detailed exposition of the reasons leading him to agree with M. Delcourt.

I have not been able to compare the text with the original Quarto, but wherever I have tested it side by side with the 1557 edition of More's works it shows how careful Dr. Taft has been. It would, perhaps, have been worth while adding a section giving a bibliographical description of the 1533 edition, which is very rare, only four copies apparently being known still to exist.

H. S. BENNETT.

**The Wheel of Fire. Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Sombre Tragedies.** By G. WILSON KNIGHT.  
Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xx+196. 12s. 6d. net.

MR. KNIGHT's fourteen essays are concerned with the "soul life of the Shakespearian play." His aim is to penetrate thereto by "interpretation," which means to him the effort to reconstruct the poet's vision, to translate our original imaginative experience or apprehension of the play "into the slower consciousness of logic and intellect." Each play, he believes, has its own central reality, and "each incident, each turn of thought, each suggestive symbol . . . radiates inwards from the play's circumference to the burning central core without knowledge of which we shall miss their relevance and necessity." The main theme of *Hamlet* he finds to be Death: *Macbeth* is "Shakespeare's most profound and mature vision of Evil"; in *Othello* we see worked out in human lives the eternal contest between the spirit of negation and the spirit of creation.

Mr. Knight has undoubtedly registered with extreme sensibility the total effect that each of the plays he considers has had upon himself. He has also the power to analyse, often with skill and discrimination, the exact way in which this residual impression has been built up. He is admirable, for example, when he dwells upon one of the more extremely painful aspects of *Lear*, and shows clearly how passage after passage forces this painfulness upon us. He has, too, a persuasive eloquence, caught perhaps from his long and loving brooding upon the golden harmonies in the utterance of his dramatist. Almost his vigorous and shapely phrasing persuades us that for a moment we believe with him that *Timon* "includes and transcends" *Hamlet*, *Troilus*, *Othello*, and *Lear*—"the recurrent and tormenting Hate-theme of Shakespeare, developed, raised to an infinite power, presented in all its tyrannic strength and profundity, and—killed."

That the values Mr. Knight perceives are not the values of the theatre is perhaps the theatre's loss. It is a moot point, though, whether Mr. Knight himself does not lose something too. His metaphysical speculations interest, but they seem to take us a long way from the urgent dynamic beings who, in the theatre, hold us enthralled by force of personality. He gives a very interesting, perhaps a very right, interpretation of *Macbeth*; but we seem to lose sight of the hero when Mr. Knight writes: "He is helpless as a

man in a nightmare : and this helplessness is integral to the conception—the will-concept is absent. Macbeth may struggle, but he cannot fight. . . . Now this Evil in Macbeth propels him to an act absolutely evil. For, though no ethical system is ultimate, Macbeth's crime is as near absolute as may be. It is therefore conceived as absolute." It may be true, but it is somewhat arid, and it rouses in us that slight, if reprehensible, unwillingness to listen which "interpretation" so often provokes when it lacks simplicity.

M. ST. CLARE BYRNE.

**Shakespeare-Jahrbuch herausgegeben im Auftrage der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.** Von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 66 (Neue Folge, VII Band). Leipzig : Verlag Bernhard Tauchnitz. 1930. Pp. iv+293. Ppr. M.8, cl. M.10.

THIS volume of the *Jahrbuch* contains several articles which will be of interest to English scholars. The longest, "Londoner Theaterbauten zur Zeit Shakespeares," by Dr. Gertrud Hille, is a careful reconsideration of what can actually be inferred from original sources as to the construction of the theatres of Shakespeare's time. The subject has been a good deal obscured by ingenious conjectures derived in some cases from texts which may not fairly represent acting, or actable, versions, and it is useful to have a plain statement of the external evidence. The article is illustrated by a convenient plate representing the theatres as shown in the views of Hondius (c. 1605 ?), Visscher (c. 1613 ?), and Hollar (1647), together with two Dutch stages of the second half of the sixteenth century. The latter can, however, hardly be exact, as the groundlings would evidently have been unable to see more than the heads of the performers ! An article by Dr. Agnes Henneke on "Shakespeares englische Könige im Lichte staatsrechtlicher Strömungen seiner Zeit," gives a good summary of political theories as to kingship, but, I think, fails to add much to the interpretation of Shakespeare, who probably troubled himself little more with such abstract theories than the average traveller of to-day with the ultimate causes of the fluctuation of the rates of exchange. More interesting from this point of view is Dr. Wolfgang Keller's study of *Troilus and Cressida*,

an attempt to interpret the play in the light of the Elizabethan attitude towards the Troy legend. Dr. Keller deals at some length with the entirely un-Homeric aspect of the legend current in the Middle Ages, an aspect which has perhaps not always been given its full importance by Shakespearians, who, brought up to be familiar with the classical story, are at once repelled by Shakespeare's treatment of it. Dr. Keller would regard the play as a result of the influence on Shakespeare of the Chettle-Dekker *Troilus and Cressida* mentioned by Henslowe in 1599. An extant fragment of a "plot" which probably belongs to this play includes the incident familiar to us from Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* of the last meeting of Troilus with Cressida, a beggar and unrecognisable from leprosy. According to the author, Shakespeare's view of the story, and especially of the character of Cressida, underwent a marked change at about the date of the Chettle-Dekker play. Dr. Keller's analysis of the other characters in the play in their relation to the classical tradition is of great interest.

Other articles in the volume include a character study of James I by Dr. A. O. Mayer, "Die Tötung des Polonius," by Dr. E. Weigelin, an attempt to assess the importance of the incident in the development of the tragedy, and papers on the influence of Shakespeare on Tieck and Schopenhauer by H. Mörtl and Dr. G. Wieninger respectively. It contains the usual excellent reviews of Shakespearian literature and a *Shakespeare-Bibliographie*, 1928-1929, by E. Hartl.

R. B. McK.

**Poems and a Defence of Ryme.** SAMUEL DANIEL. Edited by ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1930. Pp. xxxvii+216. 13s. 6d. net.

MR. SAINTSBURY remarks somewhere that reprinting, like kissing, goes by favour; and it is to be feared that in spite of the commendations of Coleridge, Samuel Daniel is indeed "uncouth, unkiste." This is a pity, for he is a good poet, and a good example in times like these, when our poets are seeking a way of expression and need all the help they can get. Mr. Sprague has partly remedied this neglect with the present volume, in which, after a neat intro-

duction, he gives us a reliable text of *Delia*, the *Complaint of Rosamund*, *Musophilus*, the *Epistles*, *Ulysses and the Syren*, and *A Defence of Ryme*, with an appendix of textual notes. I have been able to collate only the second edition of *Delia* and *Certaine Small Workes* of 1607, but these are enough to inspire confidence in Mr. Sprague's text. The only difficulty, especially in the 1607 volume, seems to lie in the usual variant copies. Mr. Sprague bases his text on one British Museum copy, and appears to assume that it is standard for the edition, describing the other copy, C. 644. a. 4, as "curious"; but it happens that the copy nearest my hand, the Glasgow University copy, is much closer to his description of the "curious" copy. Clearly, a census of copies and a strict bibliographical comparison and history are being added to the duties of an editor of English texts; for this copy has some correct readings where Mr. Sprague lists errors, and includes the verses to Fulke Greville.

The book, then, is valuable, but our very genuine gratitude is tempered by some regrets. For one thing, 13s. 6d. for a selection from Daniel, even for one so well produced, is excessive. No student, and not every college library, can afford to buy at this rate, and it is a pity Mr. Sprague's scholarship and Daniel's poems should not be more generally available. The second criticism is of the selection itself. *A Defence of Ryme* is easily accessible, and with Mr. Gregory Smith's valuable notes. The space it occupies might have been filled to more advantage with one of Daniel's Masks, or even with a Book of *The Civile Wars*, which I for one am perverse enough to enjoy; and surely, when Mr. Sprague included *Ulysses and the Syren* he might have spared a leaf for *The Golden Age*. Perhaps Mr. Sprague is attracted only by the sententious Daniel, but by such an omission he misrepresents his author, and he misrepresents the humanist way of thought. Poems like *The Golden Age* are more than pretty pieces of paganism; they are definite criticisms of life in sixteenth-century England. Are they quite irrelevant to twentieth-century America?

W. L. RENWICK.

**The Student's Milton.** Edited by FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON.  
New York : Crofts & Co. 1930. Pp. 1090 + 41. \$5.

**Reference Guide to Milton.** By DAVID HARRISON STEVENS.  
University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. 302. 22s. 6d.

**The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose.** By HARRIS FRANCIS  
FLETCHER. University of Illinois Press. 1929. Pp. 175. \$1.50.

**Life of Milton.** By LOUIS RACINE, together with observations  
on *Paradise Lost*, translated with an Introduction by KATHERINE  
JOHN. The Hogarth Press. 1930. Pp. 158. 7s. 6d.

AMERICAN activity on Milton gives no signs of abatement, and we are bound to recognise that some of the results are worth having. Professor Patterson, of Columbia University, has been engaged, with the help of a numerous *équipe* and for some twenty years now, in the preparation of a complete standard edition of Milton's works, and the first volumes are expected this winter. Meanwhile, he has given us a one-volume Milton which will be a boon to all students of Milton. It might have seemed an impossible task, but Messrs. Crofts & Co. have done marvels of producing. The character is clear and easily readable, not too small ; the poetry is in a single column, the prose in two columns, which the large-sized page carries very well. The paper is good and solid, and yet the volume is not thick, although very solidly bound in an attractive cover. We have here all the English poems, all the Latin, Greek and Italian poems, with translations and practically all the English prose ; only such pieces as the *Observations on the Articles of Peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish Rebels* (60 pp. in the Bohn edition) being wisely omitted. *The Treatise of Christian Doctrine* has been cunningly handled, and reduced to 150 pp. by the omission of the innumerable (and, to the ordinary student, useless) biblical quotations. The most telling extracts from the *Second Defence* are added, with the *Letters of State concerning the Piedmontese Massacre*. The Latin prose appears only in English translation. Professor Patterson has added a short preface (2 pp.) and a short glossary (41 pp.). The preface, before the usual announcements, has one page of enthusiastic American prose, which is worth studying both as regards contents and form, being so utterly different from what an English scholar would have produced under similar conditions.



It is a complete vindication of Milton's worth, both as an artist and as a thinker; and I must confess to general agreement with Professor Patterson. The glossary is perhaps the point which might call for some criticism; but perhaps in so reduced a space it was difficult to do better. May I be allowed to point out that *Azazel* has now been definitely traced to the book of Enoch, and that the note on him needs revising? No doubt successive editions will do away with blemishes of that sort.

Professor Patterson is also bringing out a series of facsimile reprints of seventeenth-century books (*The Facsimile Text Society, Columbia University*) which are a delight to the eye and the affections of true book lovers; and also a great boon to scholars who have not easy access to the great English libraries, as generally the works thus reproduced are otherwise inaccessible. Now we shall be able to work at home on the first edition, for instance, of John Donne's *Biathanatos*, of Henry More's *Enchiridion Ethicum*, and many other works such as Cockain's, Greville's, Hales', etc. eighteenth-century texts are also published. The prices are astonishingly low.

D. H. Stevens's *Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the present day* is, needless to say, a most useful book, listing and criticising everything that has appeared on Milton since 1800. And yet, instead of thanks, Mr. Stevens is likely to get grumbles. That there should be mistakes in a book of that sort is unavoidable, but people will find their pleasure in hunting out the mistakes. I cannot refrain, personally, from pointing out that John S. Smart, and not I, wrote that article on *Milton and the King's Prayer* which is supposed "effectually" to destroy Liljegren's theory of Milton's dishonesty in the matter of the Pamela prayer in the *Eikon Basilike*. In 2609, Richard Overton becomes Richard Overbury. But, besides such mistakes, I find the tone of Mr. Stevens's comments unnecessarily irritating. He says too easily that writers are "obviously wrong" (on Liljegren 2437); I cannot agree when I find myself accused of ignoring Milton's idealism (2462); indeed, I do not understand what is meant: and this happens to me very often throughout the book. Mr. Stevens has obviously tried to be fair, but he has "obviously" failed, probably because he had not sufficient space in each case to balance his criticism appropriately. Perhaps the wisest course to adopt would have been to summarise each work, but venture on no judgment. Still, we cannot deny that the book as it is makes more exciting reading.

Harris Francis Fletcher continues his studies in the Semitic element in Milton. This contribution (*The Use of the Bible in Milton's prose*) is very painstaking, but I cannot feel that it has any special interest. Does it really signify something that in the *Reason of Church Government*, Milton should quote three times from Isaiah, six times from the Epistle to Timothy, and twice only from Revelation? I feel sure Milton did not realise what he was doing. I feel sure, also, that Mr. Fletcher is avoiding the real issue on which his Semitic scholarship should enlighten us; the rôle and extent of the Cabala in the seventeenth century. When we see Donne's *Essays in Divinity* full of Cabalistic learning, mentioning Corduero and the Sepher Jetzirah, and Henry More urging Knorr von Rosenroth to the translation of the Zohar, we want to be told what Milton knew of the Cabala and what use he made of it. I have attempted the problem from the philosophical angle, but we look to Mr. Fletcher to give us an answer from the point of view of Semitic scholarship. We shall not be content with his counting the number of times Milton mentions Abraham.

Miss Katherine John's edition of *Louis Racine's Life of Milton* will give exquisite pleasure to all students of Milton who have a sense of humour. Louis Racine is so frequently wonderfully wrong. It was so impossible for him to understand Milton, and his historical data are hopelessly mixed up. And yet Louis Racine is so honest and so intelligent and he admires Milton so much that both his *Life of Milton* and his comments on *Paradise Lost* give genuine as well as humorous pleasure on every page. Miss John is fully awake to the possibilities of her author, and her long preface (94 pp. out of 158) makes charming reading. She is perfectly fair to the French mind, which had a difficult problem to solve when it came up against Milton, and yet she derives legitimate enjoyment from the French difficulties. Her homage to Chateaubriand is sufficiently enthusiastic to make up to the French for her gentle sarcasms on their previous efforts. Her book brings delightfully to the English public one of the really enjoyable curiosities of literature.

DENIS SAURAT.

**The Golden Grove.** Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor. Edited by LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH. With a Bibliography of the Works of Jeremy Taylor by Robert Gathorne-Hardy. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1930. Pp. lxiv+330. 10s. net.

THE works of Jeremy Taylor, the golden-mouthed preacher, Chrysostom of the Church of England, beloved and praised in immortal words by Coleridge, Lamb and Hazlitt, have hitherto been singularly inaccessible. There is the bulky edition of 1822 with Heber's Life, and there is Eden's greatly improved edition of 1847-1851. But these are works of a price and a size that place them beyond the reach of all except wealthy men or public institutions. There are, of course, too, the delectable seventeenth-century folios so dear to Coleridge, the pleasantest places for browsing on Taylor's eloquence, but necessarily limited in number and too bulky for most modern bookshelves. *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* are obtainable in cheap modern reprints, but the glories of the sermons and other devotional works have been hitherto buried away from the impecunious student, who can only have guessed at them from extracts in prose anthologies and critical essays.

Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith has now fortunately come to the rescue with a selection of 180 passages chosen from the whole body of Taylor's voluminous works and published with an admirable biographical and critical introduction by the Clarendon Press. *The Golden Grove*, as the book is happily named after the seat of Taylor's patron, Lord Carbery, in Carmarthenshire, is in every way a worthy successor of Mr. Pearsall Smith's well-known selection from the Sermons of Donne, and the two volumes should now stand side by side on the shelves of all lovers of seventeenth-century literature.

Mr. Pearsall Smith, with his exquisite taste and fine scholarship, and his profound understanding of the temper of seventeenth-century England, is the ideal anthologist for Taylor. "For more than thirty years," he writes in prose hardly inferior to Taylor's own, "my eyes have been haunted by the glow of some of these jewels; in my ears have echoed, like the sound of far-off bells, the music of certain of his phrases." But this book is no mere collection of purple passages. Any reader of Taylor with the slightest feeling for the beauty of language could make a selection of that kind. *The Golden*

*Grove* is something much more subtle and valuable. It is a collection of passages selected so as to form a sequence which thoroughly represents the character and the thought of the author, and is, as it were, a miniature of a great seventeenth-century divine accurately reproducing the main features of the full-length portrait to be found in the Collected Works. Thus, beside many noble passages on devotional, moral and theological subjects, we find extracts which reveal Taylor's opinions on politics, his personal friendships, his reading, his attitude towards the Irish Roman Catholics in his diocese, and other themes which all contribute to a complete understanding of the man and his times.

Mr. Pearsall Smith's introduction is undoubtedly the best critical essay on Taylor which has hitherto appeared, and is characterised by that fine judgment and felicity of phrase which we are accustomed to expect from the author of *The Life of Sir Henry Wotton* and *Trivia*. His description and analysis of Taylor's style are especially important and valuable. This part of his Introduction is certainly one of the ablest attempts hitherto made to examine and appraise the quality of that strange phenomenon in English literature, the poetic prose of the mid-seventeenth century, the age when a number of writers seemed to find difficulty in expressing imaginative thought and feeling in verse, but succeeded miraculously in a prose which has perhaps never been equalled for beauty and grandeur of rhythm and splendour and variety of imagery. In a most instructive passage Mr. Pearsall Smith compares Taylor's description of a sunrise in mediocre verse with the great prose hymn to the dawn in *Holy Dying*. "The verse," as he says, "is prose, and the prose is poetry." We read Taylor, indeed, for the wonderful charm of his style, and still more for that world "full of the sun and the shimmer of water," to quote another notable critical phrase from the Introduction to *The Golden Grove*. He has achieved a kind of immortality which he would probably have despised. The poet in him lives while the religious and moral teacher is forgotten, and it is the poetry in his work, stripped of redundancies and inessentials, which can be read and enjoyed in *The Golden Grove*.

The notes to the selection are brief and businesslike; indeed, a fuller commentary might have been welcomed by many readers. A few more literary parallels certainly might have been given. For instance, the description of the soul in No. 116 as "sister to a cherubin, an image of divinity" might well have been compared to

Crashaw's "Fair sister of the SERAPHIM!" and Coleridge's great line at the end of the *Ode to the Departing Year*, which seems to combine memories of Taylor's phrase and Crashaw's line:

God's Image, sister of the seraphim.

There is an excellent bibliography by Mr. R. Gathorne-Hardy, which includes not only a careful record of first editions of Taylor's authentic and supposititious writings, but also of works to which he contributed, controversial answers to his books, private letters, obituary pamphlets and a list of biographies. A minor deficiency which this volume shares with others in the same series is the lack of an index.

V. DE SOLA PINTO.

**The Poems of Richard Lovelace.** Edited by C. H. WILKINSON.  
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. Pp. lxxxviii+358. 1930.  
18s. net.

THIS is a one-volume redaction in Demy 8vo. of the "Large paper edition" in two volumes issued in 1925, and reviewed at length in *R.E.S.*, vol. iii, 89-95. The more luxurious features of the two sumptuous folios of 1925 are naturally omitted; this workmanlike edition is confined to the essentials. Practically the whole of the biographical and textual portions of Mr. Wilkinson's introduction—we note only the omission of Jacinth Sacheverell's epitaph—the text of the Poems, and the textual notes (to which a page has been added) are reproduced unchanged. The type has apparently not been re-set, but lifted and adjusted to the shorter page, a few misprints being simultaneously corrected. The frontispiece—the Dulwich portrait of Lovelace—is now the only illustration, save a facsimile (not previously included) of the Pepysian broadside *The Pensive Prisoners Apology*. This edition provides, in a handsome volume at a reasonable price, all that the ordinary student or reader of Lovelace is likely to require.

F. S.

**The Poems of Sidney Godolphin.** Edited by WILLIAM DIGHTON, with a Preface by John Drinkwater. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1931. Pp. xlv+78. 10s. net.

MR. DRINKWATER, who came into possession some years ago of a MS. of Godolphin's poems in the hand of the poet's nephew, had

made preparations to publish it, but on hearing of Mr. Dighton's interest in Godolphin, generously handed over his notes to him and placed his MS. at his disposal. The result is the present charming edition, to which Mr. Drinkwater contributes a helpful preface. Of the thirty-two poems here presented, twenty-one are printed from Malone MS. 13, one from Harleian MS. 6917, one from the Drinkwater MS., and nine from printed books. Variant readings from other sources are carefully recorded.

Of the Virgilian translation, "Dido's Passion for Æneas," ll. 455-585, were stated in 1664 to have been written by Waller. Mr. Dighton accepts this and credits Godolphin only with the earlier and possibly the later part of the poem. The result is curious. It may, however, be noticed that the lines attributed to Waller are free from the bad rimes which occur in the earlier section, *e.g.* lead : bed (ll. 333, 334) ; towne : Illium (351, 352) ; tombe : shunn (447, 448) ; resigne : tyme (451, 452).

Godolphin's poems were first assembled by Professor Saintsbury in 1906, but this edition is more complete and has a more careful text. It draws a picture of "little Syd" from the encomia of his admirers, who include Hobbes as well as Falkland and Hyde. He died in 1643 fighting for the King. Of his position as a poet we may entertain some doubts. Mr. Drinkwater holds that "over most of the poems there is an air of incompleteness as though he had not quite been able to bring it off this time"; "his hold on poetry was a fastidious, but not a very firm one." Still, we are grateful to Mr. Dighton for giving us the collection in so attractive and scholarly a form.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

**Abraham Cowley: The Muse's Hannibal.** By ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT. Oxford University Press. 1931. 8vo. Pp. xii+367. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book which the student of the seventeenth century should possess, for it is the only biography that has been attempted of an important figure in the literature of that period, and it contains all the information about his life and works that can be collected from early and from modern sources, some of which has nowhere else been published.

Professor Nethercot, as those who have followed his papers in periodicals during the last ten years will have observed, has been in



no hurry over his task. He has patiently assembled the known facts about Cowley's childhood, his education at Westminster and Cambridge, and his youthful publications; about his employments, during the troubled period of the Civil War, in Paris, the Netherlands, and Jersey; about the obscure circumstances of his return and his residence in England under the Commonwealth; and about his disappointing years of retirement after the Restoration. In addition to this, by investigating contemporary documents, he has been able to record new discoveries about Cowley at almost every stage of his career: about his father and his family, his occupations in France, the date of his return to England, and the circumstances and scenes of his final retirement.

The evidence for placing Cowley's return to England in 1654 instead of 1655—perhaps the most interesting of Professor Nethercot's discoveries—together with other evidence about Cowley's relations with the authorities under the Protectorate, is printed, from the Rawlinson MSS., on pp. 143 *sqq.* The sources of most of the other fresh material are set forth in an Appendix of "Documents relating to Abraham Cowley or his family," which includes copies of the wills of Cowley himself, of his father, and of his brother; of indentures of land granted to him in Middlesex and Kent, and of a series of "cant" letters which are supposed to have passed between him and his correspondents in Paris. The Appendix is followed by a note on the iconography of Cowley, and by a bibliography, the only fault of which is that it is too full—it includes references not only to all the relevant literature, but to books which, since they were only incidentally consulted by the author and have but the remotest connection with his subject (*e.g.* *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, 6 vols. 1903), might well not have been mentioned.

The good things in this book are not all due to research. Some result from study of Cowley's own works and of what must serve as a basis for any Life of Cowley—Sprat's account of his life and writings. For instance, Professor Nethercot's suggestion that the *Ode of Wit* was addressed to Hervey is convincing, and in pointing out that the *Miscellanies* are arranged chronologically, he has done an excellent service to students of Cowley's life and poetry.<sup>1</sup> His

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure if his dating of the elegy on Crashaw in 1651 (p. 133) depends upon the invariability of this chronological arrangement. If so, it would perhaps be better to admit an exception. It seems unlikely that the news of Crashaw's death would take two years to reach Cowley, and that any long interval separated his hearing of the news and the composition of the poem.

observation that "the number of military figures" in *The Mistress* "directly reflects the time of composition" is acute and sound. And from Sprat's statement that Cowley first experimented in the Pindaric form in "a place where he had no other books [than a copy of Pindar] to help him," he plausibly deduces that the first of these odes was written during Cowley's visit to Jersey in 1651 (p. 135). Nor has he failed to note the reference which Dorothy Osborne made to the *Dauids* two years before it was published (pp. 139-40).

Professor Nethercot also gives good reasons (p. 183) for agreeing with A. R. Waller, against most critics, that *Cutter of Coleman-Street* was composed before the Restoration, and he throws light on the motives which led Cowley, under the Protectorate, to write his odes *To Mr. Hobbs*, *Destiny*, and *Brutus*, suggesting a similar allegorical interpretation for his two Old Testament odes *The 34 Chapter of the Prophet Isaiah* and *The Plagues of Egypt*.

Though he interprets these poems in the light of Cowley's experience, Professor Nethercot resists the dangerous temptation to find autobiography in *The Mistress*, and he gives on pp. 100-105 an excellent account of its probable relation—its very distant relation—to its author's experience.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Nethercot has some interesting remarks on a subject to which he has devoted special study—the influences, English and foreign, which can be discerned in the *Essays*, but on the whole he abstains from criticism, both of life and of literature, and contents himself with setting down facts. Occasionally the reader will feel that he has tried unsuccessfully to infuse life into his subject by a forced vivacity of style, and that, in attempting to reconstruct Cowley's state of mind and the background against which he moved, he has endowed with a factitious significance trifling details from contemporary sources and from Cowley's own writings. The temptation to write thus presents itself most strongly to the literary historian, who is usually led to an interest in a writer by way of his writings, and to an interest in the writer's *milieu* by his interest in the writer himself. Where this is so, the *milieu* is too often presented merely as a background, and for that background is constructed a scene painted with an eye too exclusively directed towards the picturesque. If there is any justice in this as a criticism of the book under review, it must be said in mitigation that Cowley is not

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Professor Nethercot is bold in treating *A Posticall Revenge* as a literal record of experience (p. 20).

himself a very strong or lively person, and that anything like a detailed picture of the varied and interesting society in which he lived would have been outside the scope of Professor Nethercot's biography.

In so careful a book few criticisms of detail can be made. The first that suggests itself concerns its sub-title, *The Muse's Hannibal*. In the first poem among his *Miscellanies*, Cowley announced a bold project :

Unpast *Alpes* stop me, but I'll cut through all,  
And march, the *Muses Hannibal*.

The meaning of this would appear to be that, as Hannibal had conquered new countries for Carthage, so Cowley intended himself to extend the territory ruled over by the Muses. Professor Nethercot (thinking, presumably, of Cowley's reference to "the Muse" in a poem written many years later) takes the ambiguous genitive (there is no apostrophe in the original texts) as a singular. This seems unnatural ; but the point would not be worth raising if the questionable word did not appear so prominently on the title-page. A few other trifles may be noticed : p. 40, for *quadriennium* read *quadrivium* ; p. 64, Cowley, in his dedication of *Naufragium jocular*e to the Master of Trinity, wrote :

Collegii nam qui nostri dedit ista Scholaris  
Si Socius tandem sit, meliora dabit.

Cowley, as Professor Nethercot says, is already looking forward to the day when he may become a Fellow, but the couplet hardly justifies the inference that "he would scarcely have been so bold if he had not expected his bachelor's degree very quickly." *Tandem* need not imply that Cowley had already waited long ; it can mean, practically, "in due course." The couplet therefore does not support the later of the two dates which are in question : p. 67, was Cowley a visitor "at the castles of various of the nobility as well as at the royal palaces" before the end of 1641 ? Professor Nethercot suggests that he may have met Van Dyck in these surroundings, and Van Dyck died in the December of that year ; p. 70, "Laud, the archetype of sacerdotal tyranny," ? read "archetype" or "type" ; p. 74, *Ds Cooley* should be expanded to *Dominus*, not *Discipulus* ; p. 83, was Cowley's habit of sometimes merely initialling his early works due, as Professor Nethercot suggests, to an "arrogant" confidence "that the letters would sufficiently advertise the author" ? ; p. 94, for 1636 read 1646 ; p. 113,

*describens* needs to be altered to fit its context ; p. 114 note, for 1676 read 1646 ; p. 277, for *Pindus* read *Pindarus* ; p. 335, it might have been mentioned that a third supplementary volume was added to Hurd's selection on the publication of its third edition in 1777 ; p. 338, in the reference to Hearne's *Collections*, " Vol. I " should be deleted ; Vol. III is quoted on p. 160. A few phrases, but only a few, betray the book's Transatlantic origin, and the titles Sir Alfred Tennyson (p. 365), Sir John Evelyn (pp. v, 115, 180, 238, 239, 353), and Count Lauderdale (p. 120) will sound strange to English ears.

These are trifling points, and do not appreciably detract from the general competence, scholarliness, and reliability of the book. It may be added that the illustrations are well chosen, and that the production of the volume does credit even to the Clarendon Press.

JOHN SPARROW.

**Swift : A Tale of a Tub.** Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. New York : Columbia University Press. London : Humphrey Milford. 1930. Pp. xlv + 106. 10 × 8 in. 15s. net.

THIS agreeably printed small quarto edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, illustrated with a woodcut frontispiece, headpiece, tailpiece, and historiated initials, is intended for the general reader, and makes no pretence to add anything to our knowledge of the book or its author. The " Foreword " by Mr. Edward Hodnett is well written, and fulfils its purpose adequately. As he points out, the religious allegory, which disturbed contemporary readers, is now of less interest to us than the digressions, satirising false learning and kindred shams, in which Swift's genius was free. And these are the larger part of the work. But in his day the polemics of theology were quickly kindled ; and for early readers the slumbering fire of the tale outshone the brilliant lightning of the digressions.

This edition is printed from that of 1710 in which Swift made some revisions, to which, also, he added an " Apology " and notes. Punctuation and typographical practice have, however, in the interests of the reader, been accommodated to modern usage. The " Apology " is, rather needlessly, omitted " because of its length and controversial rather than literary character," although it only occupies twenty-two pages of the 1710 edition. Mr. Hodnett also omits, without remark, the ironical list of " Treatises wrote by the same Author," which is part of the text not only of the fifth, but of

the preceding editions. And, contrariwise, he adds the title "A Tale of a Tub" to Section II, and "A Digression The Author's Compliment to the Readers, etc." to Section X, which are explanatory corrections introduced at a later date, and not by Swift.

The footnotes added to the edition of 1710 were of two kinds. Some are signed "W. Wotton"; others are unsigned. The latter are by Swift; the former, by a fine turn of irony, were lifted from Wotton's hostile *Observations*, thus transforming the critic into the "learned commentator." There were also marginal notes, which had appeared in the preceding four editions. To these Mr. Hodnett adds translations of the Latin quotations and some notes of his own, including the whole, for "reading convenience and typographical orderliness," within square brackets in the body of the text. On the whole, this strange and gallant device succeeds better than might be anticipated; though some pages are badly scarred, and passages occur from which it is a puzzle to disentangle the tattered remnants of text. A convenient and orderly example is:

"Brothers," said he,\* "you are to be informed that of wills *duo sunt genera* [there are two kinds], [\* the next subject of our author's wit is the glosses and interpretations of Scripture, very many absurd ones of which are allow'd in the most authentick books of the Church of Rome. W. Wotton], \* nuncupatory [\* by this is meant (oral) tradition, allowed to have equal authority with the Scripture, or rather greater] and scriptory."

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

**Ballad Books and Ballad Men.** By SIGARD BERNHARD HUSTVEDT. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1930. Pp. xii+376. \$4.00. 18s. 6d. net.

In this book Professor Hustvedt provides a detailed but concise account of the history of ballad-recovery and the progress of ballad-study through the nineteenth century in England and Scotland, and in Scandinavia, by dealing seriatim with the men who salvaged these "reliques," and those who arranged them scientifically in their proper museum. Dealing mainly with the "popular" ballad, Professor Hustvedt extends his interest to its masterless allies, folksong and carol, and even to ballads of known authorship—he alludes to the *Ingoldsby Legends*, but excludes the *Bab Ballads*—on the plea that only by considering the claims of such neighbours can the confines of the "popular" realm be clearly defined.

The bulk of the book is not so much new matter as a collection, well arranged and suitably digested, of hitherto scattered information concerning pioneers like Percy and Scott and journeymen-collectors like the egregious Peter Buchan. But to this useful collection Professor Hustvedt adds a most interesting Appendix in which he prints for the first time the correspondence between F. J. Child and Svend Grundtvig—the two great curators, as it were, of the English and Scottish, and the Scandinavian ballad-museums. Neither of these scholars lived to put the coping-stone on his life's work ; but between 1872 and 1883, in which year Grundtvig died, they exchanged—both writing in English—a series of letters, full of valuable critical matter, which have fortunately been preserved at Copenhagen and Harvard.

F. SIDGWICK.

**Lady Julia Mandeville.** By FRANCES BROOKE. Edited by E. PHILLIPS POOLE with introduction and bibliographical list. Eric Partridge, Ltd.: The Scholartis Press. 1930. 8vo. Pp. 220. 8s. 6d.

It is depressing to read a novel like *Lady Julia Mandeville*, and then to reflect on its modern counterparts. "To a mere male," writes the editor, "the women creations of the sentimental Mrs. Brooke may not too obviously appear to lack verisimilitude, but when she draws a man in the same spirit, the result is different." A woman reader can assure him that the women also lack verisimilitude. They are faint, even if, in their way, charming, figures, drawn to comply with a psychological convention which is so plain to our eyes that we wonder whether it can have escaped the eyes of 150 years ago. But here the disquieting thought enters : have the novels of our time which deal in psychological subtleties of a kind of reversed sentiment, as much vitality as *Lady Julia Mandeville* ? As a class they will have a paragraph, perhaps a chapter, in histories of literature : the better examples may even, 150 years hence, find as good an editor as Mr. Phillips Poole and be fortunate enough to be published by the Scholartis Press, which, we will hope, will still be flourishing. And then, unless their editing and their appearance saves them, they will be forgotten again, and, like *Lady Julia Mandeville*, they will probably deserve their fate.

One small point may be of interest. The editor does not mention the fact that *When the Rosy Morn Appearing*, from Mrs. Brooke's



*Rosina*, is included in a collection of rounds which is still used by many schools, and a very pretty thing it is. E. C. B.

**Studies in Keats.** By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY. Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. viii+124. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. MURRY'S new *Studies in Keats* are "designed to fill gaps" in his earlier work, "but each of them has its own independent justification." The six essays differ in length and in value, but all of them are distinguished by the writer's critical acumen and independence. The fact that the essays are related only by their reference to Keats doubtless accounts for a certain amount of repetition in thought and in quotation, e.g. of the passage concerning West's picture, from the letter of December 28, 1817, pp. 55, 60, 78, 95 ("The excellence of every art is its intensity, capable of making all disagreeables evaporate from their being in close connection with Beauty and Truth"). The *Studies* would gain in effectiveness as well as in condensation, if some, at any rate, of them could be combined into a homogeneous whole. For example, the various separate references to what Mr. Murry does not like to call the mysticism of Keats might well be united into a single paper on the poet's power to penetrate into the "seldom discovered 'cave of quietude' which has the virtue of receiving into it and regenerating the whole of the pain-tormented human being. . . . The experience was crucial to Keats; it belonged to his innermost self" (pp. 37-38). The essays on *The Meaning of ENDYMION*, *The Feel of NOT to Feel It*, and *Beauty is Truth*, are all primarily concerned with this experience, and Mr. Murry is peculiarly successful in his attempts to convey to his readers something of the meaning and effects of being "detached from ourselves." He shows admirably that to Keats self-detachment did not imply avoidance of the Real; that, on the contrary, for him "the function of poetry . . . was utter submission to the real"—a submission which renders "the balm which the true Poet pours out upon the world . . . astringent, awakening, purifying, clarifying. It induces no slumber, but drives us on towards the lucid and complete activity of consciousness that is peace."

Mr. Murry, in spite of occasional dogmatizing and theorising, successfully interprets many difficult passages and poems, and even when we cannot go all the way with him, it is well worth while to discover his point of view. The analysis of the sonnet, *On First*

*Looking into Chapman's Homer*, is an admirable example of his method, which is subtle, discriminating and appreciative. "The unity of the poem lies deep and is *organic* : in the first line the last is implicit, as a flower is implicit in a seed." The working-out of this thesis, with the picture of the explorer-poet on his voyage of discovery, is a genuine contribution to the understanding of the genesis not merely of this poem but of every great work of art.

The first paper in the volume differs in kind from the others, being an account of the young poet's early friendship with George Felton Mathew and the swift emancipation from his influence which came with the entry into the circles of Leigh Hunt and of Haydon. Mathew retaliated by a review of Keats's 1817 volume that showed his injured feelings and also his jealousy of the poet's rising fame. Mr. Murry reprints the article in an appendix, and also a favourable notice of the same volume which first appeared in *The Champion*, and which he ascribes to Haydon, though the authorship is uncertain, and has, by others, been attributed to Reynolds. In any case it is worth reading, if only as a proof that the genius of Keats and the promise and the achievement of his work were publicly acknowledged in the press immediately after the appearance of his first volume.

EDITH J. MORLEY.

**England under Victoria.** By H. V. ROUTH, M.A. Methuen & Co., Ltd. London. 1930. Pp. xxiii+232. 6s. net.

IN an important respect this book belies its title. It purports to be an anthology illustrating English life under Victoria and achieves the totally different end of illustrating, almost exclusively, Victorian ideas of science, religion and politics. Perhaps the editor has over-estimated the superficial likenesses between our own and Victorian days, perhaps a sense of duty or personal predilection has guided his choice, but the public for whom the book is chiefly intended would detect many more differences between Victorian customs and their own than they will find recorded here. We are taken a submarine voyage through the deep cross-currents and choppy seas of the contradictions and perplexities of the period, but the searchlight is not brought to bear sufficiently on the exposed surfaces so that the book is a collection of important explanatory and hortatory passages rather than a selection of social pastiches.

Mr. Routh makes his defence—it is contained in his discrimina-

ting and interesting Preface—that while the external aspects are different from those of our own time, but not notable enough for detailed illustration, the spiritual and intellectual ferment in the Victorian mind acted as the precipitate for much that is valuable and even problematic at the present time. That may well be, but such ideas are better illustrated by a method of continuous development than by that of occasional extract. Perhaps Victorian records do not lend themselves to the scissors as readily as the more colourful sixteenth or eighteenth centuries.

A reading of this book brings out one or two points in sharp relief. The goodness of Victorian prose was a direct result of the sincerity and earnestness of Victorian thinkers. Their writing has a solid and workmanlike structure which is free of idiosyncrasy though not of personal mannerisms, and the almost morbid delicacy of Newman, the shrill agony of Ruskin, the discontented and thunderous growl of Arnold illumined by occasional flashes of quick-darting wit, the forceful patter of Huxley's machine-gun rhetoric, even the adventurous conscience of Meredith, are all clearly visible in the passages chosen from their work. More attention, however, might have been given to Victorian humour and to subjects connected with education, social behaviour, the arts, and public amusements. It is noticeable also that the poets are very little drawn upon, but alas, it is only by elaborate inference that we can come to grips with *their* world, although several of the later poets, *e.g.* Coventry Patmore, Mrs. Browning and John Davidson (from whom there is one extract), might have been drawn on with profit. And more might have been said about the æsthetic and social reactions to Victorianism in the last quarter of the century, under the leadership of men like Pater and Wilde.

CHARLES DAVIES.

**Die Londoner Vulgärsprache in Thackerays Yellowplush Papers. Dargestellt auf historischer Grundlage.** Von Dr. K. STEUERWALD. Leipzig: Verlag von Bernhard Tauchnitz. 1930. Pp. 63. M.4.

THIS dissertation treats in four chapters (Orthography, Phonology, Accidence, and Syntax) the language of the Cockney of c. 1840 as revealed in the Yellowplush Papers. Unlike Dickens, Thackeray was not familiar from childhood with the uneducated speech of the Londoner. His spelling, like that of most dialect writers, is erratic

and its interpretation is often difficult, but there is evidence that, as an onlooker, he noted points that others had overlooked. Here we find the earliest evidence for such pronunciations as *pore* for *poor*, *Chawles* for *Charles*, *millium* for *million*, etc. Some of the spellings seem to point to pronunciations that cannot be established for London and these are occasionally explained as due to other dialects. It is of course, possible that Thackeray had heard them in London and wrongly regarded them as Cockney, but this does not fit in well with the accuracy of his observation in other instances. They may be simply intended as uneducated spellings.

Dr. Steuerwald has collected a useful body of material which is well handled and reveals a good knowledge of the literature of his subject. There are some omissions and a fuller collection of varieties of spelling would in some cases have modified his conclusions. The modern vowel in *poor*, *moor*, etc. (p. 27) is not, in the South, at least, a long [ū]. Such spellings as *pore* and *poar* are rightly regarded as pointing to [ɔ̃] but *moor* (for *more*) is taken (p. 26) as indicating [mūə]. The possibility that *moor* should be taken with *poor* is dismissed in a footnote. There is, however, considerable evidence to prove identity of vowel-sound. Besides *moor*, we find also *moar* and *mor*; *por* occurs for *poor*, and some form of *aw* sound is clearly indicated by such spellings as *dor* (door), *floar* (floor), *jor* (jaw), *tords* (towards), *lor* (law), and *law bless us!* For *sos* (sauce), a short [ɔ], or possibly [a] is suggested (p. 27). There can be little doubt, however, that the *o* in *brot* (brought), *ot* (ought), and *thot* (thought) is long and that *sos* indicates the modern pronunciation. The letter *o* stands for other sounds, too. It is clearly a long vowel or a diphthong in *lo* (low), *Pop* (Pope), *O de Colong* (*eau de Cologne*), and *bordo* (Bordeaux), whilst in *hoss* it is certainly short. What is its length in *exosted* (exhausted)? On p. 17, *chock* (chalk) is taken to indicate a short vowel, but *chawk* also occurs and indicates the modern sound, and *bolts* had, no doubt, the same sound as *balls* to-day. Whether *sots* (sorts), *hotty* (haughty), etc., had a long or short vowel, cannot be definitely settled on this evidence. The long vowel in *toss* is clearly indicated by such spellings as *tawsing* and *intawscicated* (intoxicated). The forms *misteak* (mistake) and *sheak* (shake) similarly are regarded as indicating a pronunciation with [i] rather than as analogical spellings for [ei] based on *great* and *steak* (pp. 15, 29). But *mistak*, *mal* (male), *wating* (waiting), *tator-tator* (*tête à tête*), etc., seem conclusive for [ei]. Whether *would*,

*could*, and *should* had a long [ū] as Dr. Steuerwald holds (pp. 15, 24) cannot be settled on the evidence of Thackeray. His *wood* and *shood* may well indicate a short vowel. The only certain variation from the modern length of the vowel is in *puddle* (poodle). Mention should have been made of *oo* in words of French origin such as *floot* (flute), *broot* (brute), *souperstitious* (superstitious), *shoots*, *shut* (suits), *sootable* (suitable), and *soot* (to suit). But cf. also *bewchus* (beauteous).

The treatment of *r* is very brief. The numerous examples of loss of *r* with retention of a short vowel where standard English has a long vowel might have been collected (*buth* birth, *would* world, *first* first, etc.), and a discussion of the conditions would have been useful. There is no *r*-sound in *fellars*, *winders*, etc. (p. 42). The substitution of *sh* for *s* finally and, occasionally, medially should have been included: *Parish* (Paris), *metrappolish* (metropolis), *gashly* (ghastly), *dishconslit* (disconsolate). A substitution of *k* for *t* (of which no examples are found in Dickens) is well established in Thackeray, and is put down to the feeble utterance of the final consonants (p. 38). We may well have here an attempt to represent by *k* the pronunciation of the glottal stop which Thackeray realised was not a *t*. This is common in modern Cockney and is probably also the explanation of the omission of the definite article (p. 59) in phrases like *missis cried*, *butler came*, etc., where its existence would be more difficult to detect. *Spear* (sphere) and *spinx* (sphinx) are probably merely simplifications of a difficult combination of consonants (p. 34). Only the other day I heard a quite well-spoken child of eight say *spinx*. The Phonology is followed by brief summaries of the Irish and French pronunciations in the book, and a note on Bulwer's substitution of *w* for *r* in *wigmawole* (rigmareole), etc. The interdental spirant in *wonther* (wonder), *dthrive* (drive), etc., occurs only in the neighbourhood of *r* and is of interest as it is found also in certain English dialects.

PERCY H. REANEY.

**Eight Victorian Poets.** By F. L. LUCAS. Cambridge University Press. 1930. Pp. xx+154. 4s. 6d. net.

In this small and modestly priced volume Mr. Lucas has gathered together six "talks" recently given for the B.B.C., and two other essays of similar length. The first thing that impresses the reader is the lecturer's mastery of a broadcasting technique suited to his

subject. Nothing strikingly original or provocative is said about any of the eight poets discussed, but the attack is so fresh and direct and personal, and the proportions of biography, extracts, and criticism so nicely calculated, that even the most jaded listener must have found both pleasure and profit in these short studies.

For his extracts Mr. Lucas has very wisely relied in the main upon passages notable for their melody or else their pictorial quality. In this connection personal taste is occasionally surprised by certain omissions, as when *The Scholar Gipsy* and *Thyrsis* are represented only by one quotation, and that one of the more purely reflective stanzas. We remember, however, in compensation, that whether we agree with his portrait of Arnold or not, he has in twelve pages given a lively account of a personality that will for many people turn a dull inspector of schools into a human being. While, to return to this question of extracts, some of us will forgive many deficiencies to the critic who in a popular lecture gives us again some of those lines that, as he says, "haunt the memory for life," and star the strange pages of *The Defence of Guenevere* :

Edward the King is dead ; at Westminster  
The carvers smooth the curls of his long beard.

His judgment of Browning may displease some, but it is certainly stimulating and should provoke to thought and re-reading, even if to ultimate disagreement. No one can be exhaustive on the subject of Tennyson in the compass of seventeen small pages. Nevertheless, the focus that Mr. Lucas achieves for us is substantially the right one, we believe ; and it is no small achievement to have packed neatly into that confined space, without undue congestion or haste, several of the things that matter most about Tennyson's poetry. In some ways the least satisfactory of all to the exacting arbitrament of individual taste, Mr. Lucas's criticism of Hardy serves to reveal even to the unsatisfied just how honest and adequate his method has been throughout. In every single talk he has said something vital about his subject. Finally, it would be ungracious for the present reviewer to put the book down without thanks, which will undoubtedly be echoed by others, for the revivifying of a youthful faith to be found in his measured yet loving appreciation of Morris's *Sigurd*.

M. ST. CLARE BYRNE.



**Froude and Carlyle: A Study of the Froude-Carlyle Controversy.** By WALDO H. DUNN. Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. Pp. xx+365. 15s. net.

THE writing of this book has been a labour of love. Professor Dunn tells us that at an early age he became an enthusiastic admirer of Carlyle, and that when he first turned to Froude's biography he was unaware that there had been any controversy about it, and read it with unmixed delight. The charges against Froude surprised him, and he set out at once to discover the truth.

My study has now extended over a quarter of a century. I have examined all of the published material and as many of the unpublished documents as I have been permitted to see.<sup>1</sup> I began, as I say, with no feeling for Froude one way or the other, except admiration for his literary performance. My enthusiasm was all for Carlyle. The result of my investigations has increased my respect for Froude, and in no way lessened my opinion of Carlyle. Carlyle remains for me essentially what he is represented to be in Froude's biography.

Professor Dunn has performed his task admirably. His judgment is sound, his writing is excellent, and his arrangement of material and marshalling of facts is as clear, as orderly, and as free from verbosity as could be desired. It will no longer be necessary to apologise for Froude's *Carlyle*. Some of us, like Professor Dunn, have always regarded it as second only to Boswell's *Johnson*; but, unlike him, we have been content to ignore or to dismiss the charges against it, being impressed both by the general coherence of Froude's narrative and by the style and manners of his opponents. Nevertheless, a careful examination and refutation of these charges was necessary, for almost every history of English literature warns its readers against the bias and inaccuracy of Froude, and refers them to the "accurate" editions of C. E. Norton and Alexander Carlyle.

The attacks on Froude the biographer, like the attacks on Froude the historian, have often been inspired by other passions than the love of truth. Professor Dunn seems to have a strong suspicion, in which many of his readers will be inclined to share, that those who first publicly attacked Froude and who continued to harass him

<sup>1</sup> "I regret that Mr. Alexander Carlyle would not permit me to examine the Carlyle papers in his possession. When I asked permission to collate the documents around which the controversy centres he said that he would be glad to collate for me such portions as I cared to submit for that purpose. In reply I said: 'I cannot submit passages for collation by another. What I publish must be based on material which I have seen with my own eyes and transcribed with my own hand. Only thus can I guarantee it.'" (*Preface*).

until long after he had completed the task which he regarded as a sacred trust, were actuated not merely by a tenderness for Carlyle's reputation, but by the discovery that the manuscripts and materials on which Froude was working were likely to become a source of profit.

With regard to the general contention, that in publishing these materials so fully as he did Froude was guilty of a gross breach of trust, Professor Dunn has no difficulty in showing that Carlyle had given Froude an absolute discretionary power ; but he adds : " The mistake he made throughout the whole affair was to rely upon conversations. The intentions of Carlyle on all points should have been made clear in writing." The fact is, that Froude had to pay the penalty for Carlyle's continual hesitancy and vacillation in the matter of his self-imposed penance. As he declared in his letter to the *Times*, November 1, 1886 :

If in remorse for real or imagined faults of his own he thought it right to put together these memorials, he should have himself decided whether they were to be printed or not. The responsibility should not have been left to a friend. He told me often that he ought to do penance like Johnson ; but, as a fact, he has left me to stand in the pillory for him, and I am tired of the situation.

With regard to the particular charge, that as an editor Froude was guilty of gross inaccuracy, garbling and contamination, Professor Dunn admits that he was not a good proof-reader, and that his work contains a fair number of literal errors ; he reminds us, however, that when, in order to correct those errors, Froude asked to be allowed to consult the original documents, which he had returned, permission was refused. On the other hand, he insists that it is wrong to judge Froude's work by the standards of modern " scientific " scholarship ; that Froude did not feel himself bound to preserve Carlyle's peculiarities of punctuation and capitalisation ; and that as he had been given an absolute authority over the materials entrusted to him, he felt himself at liberty, in a few instances, to depart from the exact words of a passage and to convey the general sense. No doubt some of Professor Dunn's readers will feel that not all parts of this defence are equally sound ; but I think most of them, after reading Chapter XIX, will agree with him when he says that

The manner in which this journal has been printed [in *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*] convinces me that it is unsafe for a

scholar to employ as authoritative the versions of any documents printed by Charles Eliot Norton or Alexander Carlyle in cases where the versions differ from the texts given by Froude.

They will also derive pleasure and instruction from reading how Edward Wakefield's very inaccurate criticism of Froude's substantially accurate description of Adelaide was repeated by four "scientific" historians as an example of Froude's incurable inaccuracy; how Alexander Carlyle rejects Geraldine Jewsbury's story of Carlyle's tearing up the flower-garden at Comely Bank on the morning after his wedding, because the garden at Comely Bank was not a garden but a "plot"; and how the same person begins his refutation of Froude's account of the passionate love between Jane Welsh and Edward Irving with the words: "The only basis the story has is to be found in Irving's florid, exuberant, and extravagant letters to Miss Welsh, and her confession to Carlyle that she had once loved Irving passionately." As for Mr. David Wilson, those who have not read his books will be glad to learn that nobody ever considered Jane Welsh's marriage to Carlyle as a misalliance; that the life at Craigenputtock was rather attractive; and that when Froude altered "Gey ill to deal wi'" into "Gey ill to live with" he revealed the blackness of his heart, since "it does not appear that anybody ever found Carlyle such a man."

Fitly enough, it is from an American scholar that we receive this final vindication of a character and an achievement which another American scholar, C. E. Norton, pursued with such implacable hostility.

J. B. LEISHMAN.

**The Metres of English Poetry.** By ENID HAMER, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1930. Pp. xi + 340. 10s. 6d. net.

In this book, Mrs. Hamer aims at providing a survey of English poetry from a metrical point of view. She therefore avoids the controversy surrounding the nature of metre and, accepting stress as the basis of English speech-rhythm, gives little general theory. For this reason, perhaps, her first chapter on "The Principles of English Metre" may seem somewhat disappointing, but her refusal to be drawn into argument is according to plan.

The chapters which follow are carefully arranged and give a more comprehensive view of metre than might have been expected from a book of this size. Different verse-forms such as couplet,

blank verse, and sonnet are discussed in turn, the changes in each form being considered chronologically. There is an interesting and careful analysis of the mechanism of Milton's verse-paragraphs. In addition, there are chapters on foreign forms, such as ballades and rondels, and on classical metres in English poetry.

In scansion, Mrs. Hamer wisely limits her symbols to three: "×" for weak stress, "'" for strong stress, and "`" for secondary stress. She admits a great variety of feet including those of four syllables. "Pæonic Verse" is the subject of a particularly interesting chapter.

The examples are plentiful and well-chosen throughout, and the criticisms are suggestive and to the point. Mrs. Hamer's book should prove both welcome and useful to University students, whose needs it is intended to meet.

N. R. TEMPEST.

**A Literary History of England.** By BERNARD GROOM, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. 1929. Pp. 378. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. GROOM's book is uneven; those sections of it which relate to "the background—intellectual, political, or social" of different writers, especially that on the Renaissance, are good; they are simply written and convey a good deal of information easily and palatably. The chapter on prosody and the brief account of the growth of drama would also be of value and interest to the general reader and the schoolboy. But the major portion of the book which is devoted to "a critical account of the greater English writers" is, on the whole, disappointing. Here he is of course hampered by lack of space, and it will readily be understood that it is not easy to give an adequate "critical" account of Shakespeare in nineteen pages, even if they contain no reference to the poems. He neither suggests definite lines of criticism nor teaches the student how to set about the business of criticism himself. He is too often content to label the play, scene or character with some sweeping and ineffective generalisation. Thus we hear that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is "as rich a poem as was ever conceived"; that Hamlet is "perhaps the most wonderfully conceived character in all literature"; that *The Winter's Tale* "contains one of the loveliest poetic scenes ever written by man." This substitution of vague panegyric for criticism is particularly unfortunate in a book intended for school use. We might think that he adopts such a method only when he is forced to it by the

exigencies of space were it not that we find the same fault in his more detailed examination of Keats' epithets. It is not enough to comment that "the common word *green*, as Keats uses it (in the line 'And hide the green hill in an April shroud') has a significance more than ordinary"; nor to allude to the simile of the branch-charmed oaks in *Hyperion* as an instance of Keats' "command over phrases, of which each word is a revelation of beauty." It would be more helpful to show that Keats, by changing the line from the original

*The oaks stand charmed by the earnest stars*

to

*Tall oaks branch-charmed by the earnest stars,*

gained pictorially by the substitution of *tall* for *the*, and in sound by the assonance of *branch-charmed* and *stars*.

H. E. A. NORTHCOTT.

**American Pronunciation.** By H. KURATH. (S.P.E. Tract No. XXX.) Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. 276-310. 2s. 6d. net.

**Pronunciation, A Practical Guide to American Standards.** By THORLEIF LARSEN and FRANCIS C. WALKER. Oxford University Press. London, New York, Toronto. 1930. Pp. viii+198. 10s. net.

WITHIN the compass of a twenty-page article, a competent investigator has here given us a clear sketch of the phonological characteristics of the three main types of American pronunciation. He has further aided the British student by referring to the chief investigators in this field.

Mr. Kurath's final section on the need of an American linguistic survey is interesting reading. It may remind us that Ellis's pioneer work on the regional dialects of our own country has yet to be carried on by means of surveys of both regional and class dialects.

Messrs. Larsen and Walker's aim has been to provide a guide to "correct" pronunciation. Their book is thus addressed to such persons, both in America and in England, as desire to cultivate speech-habits of wider currency than are those which they already possess.

In the matter of American pronunciation the authors have not made quite clear by what method it has been determined which pronunciation is "most widely sanctioned by present usage."

In contrasting American and British usage they have got hold of a form of "English Received Pronunciation" which makes the differences appear greater than they actually are.

There is, for instance, a very great number of speakers of the King's English who do distinguish between the *w* of *witch* and the *wh* of *which*: to state that "English Received Pronunciation favours *w*" is misleading. Is "Received Pronunciation," then, the prerogative of a handful of Southern speakers? And why is the Cockney and Essex treatment of *dawn* and *morn* as "good rhymes" to be elevated to the dignity of a standard? The people who "*laud* the *Laud*" have not yet inflicted their speech-fashions on the whole cultured population of these islands. The use of a long vowel in *officer* and *coffee* is surely not even "received" present-day Southern English. The pronunciation of a short vowel in *balsam*, *alder*, *fault*, and *vault* belongs surely to regional and class dialect: it cannot be called normal British pronunciation. It is not certain that cultured Britons normally give to the first syllable of the word *misogynist* the sound of the word *mice*; and one would like proof of the statement that the normal British stressed form of *were* rhymes with *cur*.

Before we can profitably contrast one "Received Pronunciation" with another, two things are necessary: firstly, to determine the classes whose speech we intend to label "received," and then to investigate their language. This work has yet to be done. If an American millionaire would catch a young member of New York's most exclusive set, have him trained in linguistics and phonetics, and then send him on a tour of the clubs of the British Empire, the resulting investigation would be not only of philological but of international value.

But one must not forget that British pronunciation is only incidental to Messrs. Larsen and Walker's book. In their main aim they have succeeded well. And in the second half of their book they have succeeded thoroughly: their chapters on accent, level stress, etc., are full of interesting observations; and their chapters dealing with the pronunciation of Proper Names, Biblical Names, Greek and Latin words, and French, German, and Italian words, constitute an admirable work of reference.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.



**A Shakespeare Bibliography.** By WALTHER EBISCH, in collaboration with LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1931. Pp. xviii+294. 21s. net.

THE compilers of this book remark in their preface that "a Shakespeare bibliography that meets the demands of recent research has long been one of the most urgent desiderata of Modern Philology." They are certainly to be commended for their zeal, courage and energy, for the difficulty of compilation, selection and arrangement is stupendous. Selection from what they charitably call "the inexhaustible riches of Shakespearian literature" was obviously necessary, and their ambition "not to leave out any title indispensable for scientific Shakespearian study" is laudable. The large question of what is indispensable for such a study is answered in the list of sections and subsections into which the book is divided; they include Elizabethan literature, Shakespeare's life, transmission of the text, the stage and production of plays, civilisation in Shakespeare's England—everything, in fact, that is concerned with the age, name or environment of William Shakespeare.

So far as modern studies are concerned, the selection is useful and sound, and its value is increased by the large number of German works included. In dealing with original material, either in early editions or modern reprints, the compilers have been most haphazard in their choice. Those items which many students would wish to consult at first hand—Greene's *Groatsworth*, Heywood's *Apology*, Chettle's *Kindhart*, Jonson's *Discoveries*—are omitted; presumably because they can be found in the *Shakespeare Allusion Book*. On the other hand, lists of the publications in the Malone Society Reprints and Farmer's Facsimiles are given. The unfortunate result is that the book will be of least use to those who need it most, students looking for a guide to tell them where to find the material, original or reprinted, for "scientific Shakespearian study." Most students, in fact, will find that the bibliographical notes in Sir Edmund Chambers' *William Shakespeare* are fuller and more useful.

There are other examples of omission or unsatisfactory classification. Under the section "Shakespeare's Life," there is no mention of Aubrey, Fuller or Rowe, though the last appears under "Later editions with critical text revision"; Dowden's little primer is included in "The most important biographies," also Raleigh's *Shakespeare* (which is not a biography), but Dowden's *Shakspeare*:

his mind and art appears under "Shakespeare's Personality," whilst Bagehot's essay, *Shakespeare the Man*, is omitted altogether. In the section "Shakespeare Bibliography," Miss Bartlett's *Mr. William Shakespeare* is omitted, but is to be found thrice later, under "Bibliography of oldest texts," "Shakespeare's Sources : General Studies" (it is not a general study at all), and also "Literary Allusions."

The worst omissions occur in the section "Civilisation in Shakespeare's England." Here a few historical works are given, such as Green's *Short History of the English People*, A. D. Innes' *England under the Tudors*, and A. F. Pollard's *History of England, 1547-1603*; but Cheyney's *History of England, 1588-1603*, is omitted, together with such works as Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, Birch's *Memoirs*, the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*, the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Manningham's *Diary*, Chamberlain's *Letters*, Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, to mention but a few. Neither Stow's *Annals* nor Camden's *Elizabeth* are noticed, though both the *Britannia* and the *Survey* are given.

In the section "Æsthetic criticism : xviith and xviiiith century critics : Sources," only Nichol Smith's *Eighteenth-century Essays on Shakespeare* and *Shakespearean Criticism* (in the *World's Classics*), and Beverly Warner's *Famous Introductions* are given ; no originals are mentioned at all.

Two well-known scholars have achieved a dual personality. "W. W. Grey" (text and index), who writes on Edward Alleyn, is the *umbra* of Dr. Greg, and "Manly, J. M.," is but another manifestation of "Manly, John Matthews." A. H. Bullen did not compile the British Museum Catalogue of books printed before 1640 ; and it is unfortunate that Cunningham's *Revels* should be labelled "The Cunningham Forgeries," now that they have been conclusively proved genuine by Mr. Stamp.

It may be, however, that the chief mistake of the compilers is that they have inadequately defined their intentions in the preface. The labour spent has been great, and the marble-hearted fiend too readily gloats over bibliographies. Though the book cannot be commended without warning to students beginning research, it will be of very considerable value to most scholars, who will be reminded of many important studies, particularly in periodicals, which otherwise might have been overlooked or forgotten.

G. B. HARRISON.

## SHORT NOTICES

**Untersuchungen über die Romankunst von Wilkie Collins.** By HANS SEHLBACH. (Verlag der Frommanschen Buchhandlung, Jena.) 1931. Pp. xvi+184.

In this detailed study which Herr Sehlbach describes as "a further link in the work begun by Professor Dibelius on the art of the English novel," we find a very thorough inquiry into the methods employed by Wilkie Collins. His methods of arousing interest, how he names his chapters, the note of tension on which he ends them, his dialogue methods, his treatment of love, his methods of creating sensation by "secrets," "unusual happenings," etc., all are gone into in detail. His life story also is told as far as it is known (it appears to have been wrapped in mystery): his friendship with Dickens is described carefully, and the consequent influence they had on each other's writings.

The views quoted of various people on Collins' writings make very interesting reading, particularly those of E. von Wolzogen and Swinburne. The former found him to be a writer who "beside his power for inventing sensation was one who had an unusual gift for describing character, combined with an unusual style, an earnest purpose, an artistic perception and, whenever possible, an excellent sense of humour. The latter, with equally high praise, said, "All the works of Collins . . . are works of art. . . ." Cornelius Weygandt, however, with the outlook of to-day, says, "Save for his plots, Collins is but a washed-out Dickens." However, Herr Sehlbach in his summing up finds that Collins has played a far from mean part in the history of the English novel, though since the entertainment and excitement of the ordinary reader was always aimed at, the books necessarily suffered by the fixed form they were forced to take in order to produce those effects.

J. K.-F.

**Shakespeare Studies Biographical and Literary.** By EDGAR I. FRIPP. London: Humphrey Milford. 1930. Pp. x+176. 7s. 6d. net.

The greater part of these studies consists of short papers on Stratford worthies of Shakespeare's time, such as Thomas Atwood, who was a friend of Shakespeare's grandfather, John Bretchgirdle, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1564, John Brownsword, schoolmaster at Stratford, 1565-1567, and Alexander Aspinall, schoolmaster from 1582 to 1624. The book also includes some interesting particulars derived from local records as to Stratford houses, with some good photographs, and a long paper on Shakespeare's use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which Mr. Fripp argues against the "foggy fallacy" that Shakespeare acquired his knowledge of Ovid's work, not from the original but from the "clownish translation of Arthur Golding." He adduces a large number of obvious cases of indebtedness to Ovid, but I do not see that he shows that in any single case the borrowing is necessarily direct from the Latin, though of course it is quite likely that Shakespeare would derive from school days such knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* as an intelligent boy could hardly fail to derive at the time. It is useful to have a reproduction of the title-page and inscriptions in the Bodleian copy of the 1502 Aldine edition of the *Metamorphoses* with its presumptive signature of Shakespeare, but it would surely have been better to make it clear in the underline that the authenticity of the signature is not universally admitted. Among other items the will and inventory of John Bretchgirdle (1565) is of interest on account of the numerous books mentioned in the former. His total library was valued at £10, but unfortunately there is no list of titles.

## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

By H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS

ANGLIA, Vol. LV. (Neue Folge XLIII.), July 1931—

Die rationalistische Grundlage der englischen Kultur des 17. Jahrhunderts (Paul Meissner), pp. 321-67.

The Beginnings and Significance of Sentimental Comedy (F. T. Wood), pp. 368-92.

BODLEIAN QUARTERLY RECORD, Vol. VI., April 1931—

The Library of John Aubrey, F.R.S. (R. T. Gunther), pp. 230-36.  
Catalogue.

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 15, July 1931—

Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. R. Baxter and the Rev. J. Eliot, 1656-1682, Part 2 (Edited by F. J. Powicke), pp. 442-66.

Unpublished Manuscripts, Papers and Letters of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale and their Friends in the John Rylands Library (Moses Tyson), pp. 467-88.

Preliminary account of documents recently purchased from the heirs of Mrs. Thrale.

CORNHILL MAGAZINE, May 1931—

Daniel Defoe (John A. R. Marriott), pp. 531-43.

— June —

Letters of Charles Dickens to Baroness Burdett-Coutts (Edited by Charles C. Osborne), pp. 641-57.

Continued July, pp. 1-15.

Memoirs of William Dalgleish, Butler to Sir Walter Scott (Edited by G. E. Mitton), pp. 738-54.

Continued July, pp. 75-93.

ENGLISH STUDIES, Vol. XIII., April 1931—

(Defoe Memorial Number).

Robinson Crusoe in Holland (W. H. Staverman), pp. 49-58.

Daniel Defoe im Lichte der neueren Forschung (E. G. Jacob), pp. 58-68.

De Foe et la France (P. G. Dottin), pp. 69-74.

De Foe et Cellini (M. Praz), pp. 75-87.

Hermann Ullrich: a Bibliography, pp. 87-89

Professor Ullrich's publications on Defoe, 1885-1931.

# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 501

HERRIGS ARCHIV FÜR DAS STUDIUM DER NEUEREN SPRACHEN, Vol. 159

(New Series 59), June 1931—

Blake und Hamann (Schluss) (Helène Richter), pp. 195-210.

Grundsätzliches zur neuenglischen Lautlehre (W. Horn), pp. 211-21.

HISTORY, Vol. XVI., April 1931—

The Bestiary (M. R. James), pp. 1-11.

LIBRARY, Vol. XII., June 1931—

Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624 (A. E. M. Kirwood), pp. 1-39.

The Bibliothèque Britannique, 1733-47 (F. Beckwith), pp. 75-82.

Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications (Carroll Camden, Jr.), pp. 83-108.

LONDON MERCURY, Vol. XXIV., June 1931—

Hartley Coleridge's Unpublished Correspondence (E. L. Griggs), pp. 146-51.

Henry Fielding (Mabel Seymour), p. 160.

Bibliographical note on *A Compleat and Authentick History . . . of the Late Rebellion*.

July—

John Gower (Ethel Street), pp. 230-42.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, Vol. XLVI., June 1931—

The Morality Theme in Book II. of *The Faerie Queene* (L. F. Ball), pp. 371-79.

Influence of morality plays.

The Maiden and Her Lamb, *Faerie Queene*, Book I. (I. L. Schulze), pp. 379-81.

Medieval versions of the legend of St. George.

A Romanticized Version of *Hero and Leander* (A. T. Crathern), pp. 382-85.

Eighteenth century chapbooks.

Notes on the Raleigh Canon (H. H. Hudson), pp. 386-89.

Evidence of MS. Harleian 7392.

The Date of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (F. H. McClosky), pp. 389-91.

Bottom's song and *A poem of a Mayde forsaken*.

*Macbeth* and Mundy Again (J. A. S. McPeck), pp. 391-92.

Honorificabilitudinitatibus (James Hutton), pp. 392-95.

Erasmus, *Adagia* 3.2.69, and *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Minstrels and Musicians in the Registers of St. Botolph Aldgate (Emma M. Denkinger), pp. 395-98.

Massinger and the House of Pembroke (R. H. Ball), pp. 399-400.

References to Arthur Massinger in Pembroke's letters to Cecil.

Massinger's *The Picture*, *Bandello*, and *Hungary* (A. Steiner), pp. 401-03.

New Verses by John Webster (B. M. Wagner), pp. 403-05.

Descriptive verses on an engraving of James I. and his family.

The Copy for *The Careless Lovers* (J. G. McManaway), pp. 406-09.

## MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW, Vol. XXVI., July 1931—

Some Sequences of Thought in Shakespeare and in the 147 Lines of  
*Sir Thomas More* (R. W. Chambers), pp. 251-80.

*The Jew* (S. A. Small), pp. 281-87.

Relation of *The Merchant of Venice* to earlier versions.

peodric in *Widsith* and the Rök Inscription (A. H. Smith), pp. 330-32.

Cleopatra's Death in Chaucer's *Legende of Gode Wommen* (P. C. Ghosh), pp. 332-36.

"Din" and "Doom" in *Piers Plowman*, A. II. 183 (Mabel Day), pp. 336-38.

Certain of Sir Thomas More's Epigrams Translated by Stanihurst (S. H. Atkins), pp. 338-40.

Footnotes to Seventeenth-Century Biographies (Eleanore Boswell), pp. 341-45.

Inigo Jones; Sir Charles Sedley; Thomas Shadwell; William Wycherley.

## MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXVIII., May 1931—

*Avallo* (Louis Cons), pp. 385-94.

Avalon (C. H. Slover), pp. 395-99.

Derivation and meaning of name.

Recent Theories of Textual Criticism (W. W. Greg), pp. 401-04.

Reply to W. P. Shepard.

A Hypothesis Concerning the Alliterative Revival (J. R. Hulbert), pp. 405-22.

The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson (A. D. McKillop), pp. 423-33.

Thomson and Lady Hertford Again (Helen S. Hughes), pp. 468-70.

Coleridge the Dragoon (E. L. Griggs), pp. 470-75.

Further information from unpublished letters.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY, Vol. CIX., June 1931—

Coleridge as a Cavalryman (C. P. Hawkes), pp. 735-44.

Tennyson's Unpublished Poems (Charles Tennyson), pp. 756-64.

IV. Tennyson and *The New Timon*.

## NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 160, May 2, 1931—

Coleridge MSS. (T. O. Mabbott), p. 317.

Unpublished letter.

English Provincial Playhouses in the Eighteenth Century (A. H. W. Fynmore), pp. 317-18.

Further notes by R. W. M. Wright and A. K. Maples, May 9, pp. 338-39; by T. O. Mabbott and G. D. Lumb, May 16, pp. 356-57; by J. B. King and A. Finney, May 30, p. 388; by T. O. Mabbott, July 11, pp. 30-31.

— May 9—

The History and Bibliography of English Newspapers (E. E. Newton; J. G. Muddiman), pp. 336-38.

Further note by J. G. Muddiman, May 23, p. 375; by H. Southam, May 30, p. 391; by J. G. Muddiman, June 20, pp. 442-43.



# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 503

## NOTES AND QUERIES, Vol. 160, May 16—

Edmund Spenser and Lyte's *Niebbe Herbal* (Agnes Arber), pp. 345-47.  
"Chevisaunce" or "Cherisaunce"?

Notes on Swift (S.), p. 350.

*A Satyr against Hypocrites* (C. J. Hindle), p. 354.

## — May 23—

Letters of Leigh Hunt, Thomas Hood, and Allan Cunningham  
(T. O. Mabbott), p. 367.

Text of letters from *The Corsair*, 1839.

Birthplace of John Lyly (W. S.), p. 375.

His father's will.

## — June 6—

The Real Gaunt House of *Vanity Fair* (W. Courthope Forman),  
pp. 401-03.

Harcourt House, Cavendish Square. Note by W. E. Gawthorp, June 27,  
p. 465.

Temple, Casaubon, and Swift (C. M. Webster), p. 405.

## — June 13—

William Percy and Charles Fitzjeffrey (M. Hope Dodds), pp. 420-22.

*The Cuck-Queenes and Cuckolds Errant*. Notes by M., June 27, p. 462;  
by M. H. Dodds, July 4, pp. 13-14; by G. S. F., July 18, p. 50.

## — Vol. 161, July 4—

Shelley's *Skylark*: the "Silver Sphere" (A. Eiloart), pp. 4-8.

## — July 18—

Notes on London Booksellers and Publishers, 1700-1750 (F. T.  
Wood), pp. 39-42.

Continued July 25, pp. 60-64.

## — July 25—

William Percy's Epigrams (M. Hope Dodds), pp. 57-60.

MS. at Alnwick.

"Leveller" (W. J. Payling Wright), p. 65.

Use of word in 1607.

## REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAIN, Vol. VIII., June 1931—

Milton et la musique (C. Looten), pp. 393-408.

Oscar Wilde: les poèmes de la maturité (L. Lemonnier), pp. 409-18.

Fielding a-t-il écrit le dernier chapitre de *A Voyage from this world  
into the next*? (A. Digeon), pp. 428-30.

## STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXVIII., July 1931—

The *Stanzaic Life of Christ* and the Chester Plays (Robert H. Wilson),  
pp. 413-32.

Notes on the Dramatic Structure of the York Cycle (Effie MacKinnon),  
pp. 433-49.

The Wandering Jew and *The Pardoner's Tale* (Nelson S. Bushnell), pp. 450-60.

A Collection of Chaucer Allusions (R. P. Bond, J. W. Bowyer, C. B. Millican, G. H. Smith), pp. 481-512.

Supplementing Miss Spurgeon's *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*.

The Spectator's Notable Jew (J. J. Welker), pp. 519-21.

Note on No. 380, May 16, 1712.

Wordsworth's Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff (E. N. Hooker), pp. 522-31.

**TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, May 7, 1931—**

Jane Austen's "Warren" (R. W. Chapman), p. 367.

Identification. Further note by H. A. Wansbrough, May 14, p. 390.

Walpole's *Anecdotes* (W. S. Lewis), p. 367.

Unrecorded advertisement to fourth volume.

Wordsworth and his Daughter (Carl J. Weber), p. 367.

Annette's use of name "Williams."

A Wordsworth Line (E. C. Abraham), p. 367.

Unrecorded alteration in the Immortality Ode.

**— May 14 —**

"The Yahoo's Overthrow" (C. M. Webster), p. 390.

Keats, Blake and Bridges (Eric Arnold), p. 390.

Exposition of poetic faith in *The Testament of Beauty*.

**— May 21 —**

Captain Robert Hinde (R. L. Hine), p. 408.

An original of Uncle Toby.

Pope and Ovid (F. Barnes), p. 408.

Sewall's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, 1717. Further notes by S. Beverley and C. L. Quinton, June 4, p. 447.

Wordsworth Emendations (B. G. Hall), p. 408.

In "Westminster Bridge" sonnet.

**— May 28 —**

A Trial of the Poets (D. M. Walmsley), p. 427.

Authorship and date of publication.

A Point in *King Lear* (Vernon Rendall), p. 427.

Note on I. i. 267. Replies by Percy Simpson, June 4, p. 447; and J. A. H. Coates, June 11, p. 467.

"Unpeeled" (Bern Aylwin), p. 427.

*Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 88.

**— June 4 —**

Fielding and Lyme Regis (J. Paul de Castro), p. 447.

**— June 11 —**

*The Suspicious Husband* (J. P. de Castro), p. 467.

Evidence against Hoadly's authorship.

# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE 505

*The School-Boy's Opera* (C. J. Hindle), p. 467.

Dublin edition of 1729.

Blake: "Binds," not "Bends" (Max Plowman), p. 467.

## TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, June 18—

Johnson and Poetry, pp. 473-74.

Cyril Tourneur (Fred L. Jones), p. 487.

Authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

## June 25—

Thomas Chatterton (E. H. W. Meyerstein), p. 504.

Notes supplementary to the *Life of Chatterton*.

French Players in London in 1628 (W. J. Lawrence), p. 510.

## July 2—

Aurora Leigh, pp. 517-18.

## July 9—

A Southey Letter (D. S. MacColl), p. 547.

To Thomas Southey, March 1799.

Donne's "Mr. Tilman": a Postscript (H. Harvey Wood), p. 547

*The Wanderer* (Seán O'Faoláin), p. 547.

Note on ll. 41-55. Reply by D. H. Crawford, July 23, p. 583.

*The Taming of the Shrew* (Julia N. McCorkle), p. 547.

Error in quotation in *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*.

## July 16—

Arthur Massinger (Mark Eccles), p. 564.

Was Isabella a Novice? (William Poel), p. 564.

## July 23—

A Poem on Catalonia (H. J. C. Grierson), p. 583.

Reference in Scott's letters. Further note, July 30, p. 597.

*Mirror for Magistrates* (Godfrey Davies), p. 583.

Bibliographical queries.

Addison and the Pro-Proctor (Herbert Wood), p. 583.

Note in the Account Book of St. Edmund Hall.

## July 30—

Johnson's Schoolmaster (Margaret Ashmun), p. 597.

Reference in letter of Anna Seward.

Cowper's Selkirk (M. Carmichael), p. 597.

Frequent omission of the fourth stanza.

Judean or Indian? (Richmond Noble), p. 597.

Note on *Othello*, V. ii. 421.

Travels in Spain and Portugal (E. N. Adler), p. 597.

Marginal notes by Wordsworth.

## UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1931

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# UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1931 507

(King's), R. Parkinson (Selw.), C. H. Peacock (non-coll.), T. Potts (non-coll.), J. F. H. Rees-Jones (Pet.), P. C. Roberts (Down.), C. G. Shepherd (Joh.), J. E. S. Simon (Trin. H.), P. A. Smithells (Cla.), H. St. C. Stewart (Joh.), M. Strachan (Trin.), F. J. Stratton (non-coll.), J. B. Sturdy (Trin.), K. J. Swann (Christ's), R. E. Walley (Selw.), N. White (Selw.), A. C. E. Widdicombe (Jes.), E. K. Wright (Cath.).

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# UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1931 509

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#### ERRATA

P. 68, l. 12, for *geare* read *feare*.

P. 235, l. 32, for *Gloss* read *Sloss*.

## INDEX

- Adam, R. B., *The R. B. Adam Library relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and his Era* reviewed, 230  
*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: MSS.* Bodley 340 and 342, article by K. Sisam, 7  
Ainsworth, E. G., note on *Orlando Furioso* and English Madrigals, 327  
Allen, R. J., article on *The Kit-Cat Club and the Theatre*, 56  
*Allenglisches Lesebuch*, ed. Förster, noticed, 118  
*American Pronunciation*, by H. Kurath, reviewed, 495: see *Pronunciation*  
*Aristotle, The Poetics of, in England*, by M. T. Herrick, reviewed, 113  
Arundell, D. D., his *Dryden and Howard*, 1664-1668, reviewed, 102  
Ashmole MS. 767, note by G. Tillotson, 457
- B., E. C., reviews by, 119, 120, 484  
Bacon, Sir Nicholas, connection with Breton family, 331  
Baker, E. A., reviews by, 227, 239  
Bald, R. C., note on Addition III of *Sir Thomas More*, 67  
*Ballad Books and Ballad Men*, by S. B. Hustvedt, reviewed, 483  
Bargrave, Mrs., and Mrs. Veal, 2  
*Barockstil bei Shakespeare und Calderón*, by W. Michels, reviewed, 100  
Baugh, A. C., article on *Further facts about James Shirley*, 62  
Bedford, Francis, Second Earl of, article on his Library, by Muriel St. C. Byrne and Gladys S. Thomson, 385  
Belden, Mary M., her *Dramatic Work of Samuel Foote* reviewed, 106  
Bennett, H. S., reviews by, 465, 466.  
*Beowulfiana*, note by S. J. Crawford, 448
- Bergerac, Cyrano de, and Godwin's *Man in the Moone*, 45  
*Biographik, englische, der Tudor-Zeit*, by M. Schütt, reviewed, 345  
*Blair on Ossian*, note by R. W. Chapman, 80  
*Blake and Modern Thought*, by D. Saurat, reviewed, 235  
Boas, F. S., his *Marlowe and his Circle*, reviewed, 86; his edition of *Elizabethan and other Essays* by Sir S. Lee reviewed, 227  
*Boethius, S.E.M.—"Translator" of*, article by W. E. Houghton, 160  
Bond, R. W., *Addendum on Lyly's Songs*, 442  
Boswell, Eleanore, note on Sir George Etherege, 207; on Chaucer, Dryden, and the Laureateship, 337  
Brandl, A., his *Englische Dialekte*, noticed, 372  
Breton, William, and Sir N. Bacon, 331  
Brett, C., review by, 92  
*British Museum Quarterly, The*, Vol. IV, noticed, 121  
Brooke, F., his *Lady Julia Mandeville* reviewed, 484  
Browne, Sir Thomas, note on bibliography of, by Lucile D. Smith, 458  
*Browning's Parleyings: The Autobiography of a Mind*, by W. C. de Vane, Jr., reviewed, 369  
Brunner-Hittmair, his *Mittelenglisches Lesebuch*, noticed, 118  
Burney, C., and *The Monthly Review*, 180  
Burney, Frances, her *Evelina*, ed. Mackinnon, reviewed, 360  
*Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S. J. Crawford, reviewed, 91  
Byrne, Muriel St. C., article on *My Lord's Books*, 385; reviews by, 115, 119, 370, 468, 489

- Byron, Lord, *Lord Byron's Subjektivismus*, by H. Dörken, reviewed, 239; *Persönlichkeit und Werk*, by Helene Richter, reviewed, 239
- Campbell, W. E., his *More's Utopia and his Social Teaching* reviewed, 465
- Cancels*, by R. W. Chapman, noticed, 373
- Canterbury, Mrs. Veal and her friends in, 188
- Canterbury Tales, The*, by G. Chaucer, trans. F. E. Hill, reviewed, 112
- Carey, Henry, the *Poems* of, ed. F. T. Wood, reviewed, 356
- Carlyle. See *Froude and Carlyle*
- Carver, P. L., reviews by, 236, 361
- Caxton: *Die Sprache Caxtons*, by H. Wiéncke, reviewed, 464
- Chambers, Sir E. K., note on an Elegy by John Donne, 69; his *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* reviewed, 216
- Chapman, R. W., note on H. Blair and Ossian, 80; on Numbering of Editions, 213; his *Cancels*, noticed, 373; his edition of a letter of Johnson, noticed, 247
- Charpentier, J., his *Coleridge, The Sublime Somnambulist*, reviewed, 361
- Chase, Mary E., her *Thomas Hardy. From Serial to Novel*, reviewed, 370
- Chaucer, G., *Chaucer, Dryden and the Laureateship*, note by Eleanore Boswell, 337; his *Canterbury Tales*, trans. by F. E. Hill, reviewed, 112
- Chute, Anthony, *Thomas Nashe, and the first English Work on Tobacco*, article by R. J. Kane, 151
- Clark, W. S., reviews by, 102, 347
- Cognasso, F., his edition of Savonarola's *Prediche italiane ai Fiorentini* reviewed, 465
- Cole, G. D. H., his *Politics and Literature* reviewed, 371
- Coleridge on *Logic and Learning*, by Alice D. Snyder, reviewed, 236
- Coleridge, *The Sublime Somnambulist*, by J. Charpentier, reviewed, 361
- Collins, Wilkie, *Untersuchungen über die Romankunst von*, by H. Schlbach, noticed, 499
- Colman, G., the elder, and *The Monthly Review*, 175
- Comsray Letters*, ed. M. H. Nicolson, reviewed, 349
- Copland, Robert, and his *Hye way*, article, by W. J. Moore, 406
- Cowley, Abraham: *The Muse's Hannibal*, by A. H. Nethercot, reviewed, 478
- Cowper, W., *Notes for a Bibliography of his Letters*, article by K. Povey, 182
- Crawford, S. J., note on *Beowulfiana*, 448; his ed. of *Byrhtferth's Manual* reviewed, 91; review by, 224
- Cross, W. L., his *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* reviewed, 104
- Crotch, W. J. B., review by, 464
- Daniel, S., his *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, ed. A. C. Sprague, reviewed, 470
- Darbishire, Helen, note on Pen-and-Ink Corrections in Books of the Seventeenth Century, 72
- Davies, Charles, review by, 486
- Davis, B. E. C., review by, 116
- Day, Mabel, review by, 112
- Deas, M. C., note on Rowland Woodward, the friend of Donne, 454
- Defoe, Daniel: *Essay on Projects*, by E. G. Jacob, noticed, 120
- Defoe's True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, article by Sir Charles Firth, 1
- De Vane, W. C., Jr., his *Browning's Parleyings: The Autobiography of a Mind*, reviewed, 369
- Dialektliteratur Englands, Die soziale Herkunft der neuzeitlichen*, by E. F. Hoewel, reviewed, 243
- Dictionary Making in the Early Eighteenth Century*, note by Mary Segar, 210
- Dighton, W., his edition of *The Poems of Sidney Godolphin* reviewed, 477
- Donne, John, *The Text of Donne's Letters to Several Persons*, article by I. A. Shapiro, 291; an Elegy by, note by Sir E. K. Chambers, 69; his friend, R. Woodward, 454
- Dörken, Hildegard, her *Lord Byron's Subjektivismus* reviewed, 239



- Dramatic Structure, Modern*, by Dorothy J. Kaucher, reviewed, 115
- Dryden and Howard*, 1664-1668, by D. D. Arundell, reviewed, 102
- Dunciad Variorum with the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*, by A. Pope, ed. R. K. Root, noticed, 121
- Dunn, W. H., his *Froude and Carlyle* reviewed, 491
- Ebische, W., his *Shakespeare Bibliography* reviewed, 497
- Eccles, M., article on *Middleton's Birth and Education*, 431
- Editions, Numbering of, note by R. W. Chapman, 213
- Eight Victorian Poets*, by F. L. Lucas, reviewed, 489
- Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, by T. Gray, ed. F. G. Stokes, reviewed, 107
- Eliot, George, *Die Darstellung der Charaktere in G. E.'s Romanen*, by Lotte Simon-Baumann, noticed, 119
- Eliot, John, article on his *Ortho-epia Gallica*, by Florence Yates, 419
- Elizabethan and Other Essays*, by Sir S. Lee, ed. F. S. Boas, reviewed, 227
- Elizabethan Drama, The Triumph of Realism in*, by W. Thorp, noticed, 119
- Elizabethan Imagery, Aspects of*, by Elizabeth Holmes, reviewed, 100
- England, A Literary History of*, by B. Groom, reviewed, 494
- England under Victoria*, by H. V. Routh, reviewed, 486
- English Studies, The Year's Work in*, Vol. IX, reviewed, 118
- English Usage, 1700-1800, The Doctrine of Correctness in*, by S. A. Leonard, reviewed, 109
- Englische Dialekte, bearbeitet unter der Leitung von A. Brandl*, noticed, 372
- Englischen Naturgefühls, Über Eigenart und Ursprung des*, by H. Huscher, noticed, 120
- Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. XV, reviewed, 116
- Etherege, Sir George, note by Eleanore Boswell, 207
- Evans, B., note on Thomas Fuller at Broadwindsor, 452
- Evans, B. I., reviews by, 368, 369, 370
- Everett, Dorothy, review by, 462
- Faerie Queene, The*, and Spenser's Irish Experiences, letter by C. S. Lewis, 83
- Faust, Johann : The Man and the Myth*, by H. G. Meek, reviewed, 227
- Feiling, K., his *Sketches in Nineteenth-Century Biography*, noticed, 246
- Firth, Sir Charles, article on *Defoe's True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, 1
- Fletcher, H. F., his *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose* reviewed, 472
- Foot, *The Dramatic Work of Samuel*, by Mary M. Belden, reviewed, 106
- Förster, M., his *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, noticed, 118
- Friends of the National Libraries, 342
- Fripp, E. I., his *Shakespeare Studies*, noticed, 499
- Froude and Carlyle*, by W. H. Dunn, reviewed, 491
- Fuller, Thomas, at Broadwindsor, note by B. Evans, 452
- Gardiner, Dorothy, article on *What Canterbury knew of Mrs. Veal and her friends*, 188
- Garmonsway, G. N., reviews by, 91, 100, 113, 118
- Garrick, David, and *The Monthly Review*, 179
- Gascoigne, George, and his *Circle*, note by Florence E. Teager, 330
- Gay, J., and the epistle *To a Lady on her Passion for Old China*, 79
- George a Greene, The Pinner of Wakefield*, 129
- Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen*, by E. A. Philippson, reviewed, 224
- Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Nyght, Of*, by L. Lavater, ed. J. D. Wilson and May Yardley, reviewed, 95
- Godolphin, Sidney, The Poems of*, ed. W. Dighton, reviewed, 477
- Godwin, Bishop, article on his *Man in the Moone*, by H. W. Lawton, 23
- Goldsmith, O., and *The Monthly Review*, 180
- Grattan, J. H. G., reviews by, 372, 495

- Gray, T., his *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, ed. F. G. Stokes, reviewed, 107
- Greene, Robert, and George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield, article by H. D. Sykes, 129
- Greg, W. W., note on Pen-and-Ink Corrections, 337; review by, 97
- Groeneveldt, J., B. Mandeville's poem on, 74
- Groom, B., his *Literary History of England* reviewed, 494
- Gurrey, P., reviews by, 109, 459
- Hamer, D., article on *Spenser's Marriage*, 271
- Hamer, Enid, her *Metres of English Poetry* reviewed, 493
- Hanford, J. H., article on *Pepys and the Skinner Family*, 257
- Harbage, A., his *Thomas Killigrew, Cavalier Dramatist, 1612-1683*, reviewed, 347
- Hardy, Thomas. *From Serial to Novel*, by Mary E. Chase, reviewed, 370
- Harrison, G. B., review by, 497
- Hawkins, A., article on *Some Writers on The Monthly Review*, 168
- Healing, A. C., review by, 93
- Herford, Charles Harold (1853-1931), 340
- Herrick, M. T., his *Poetics of Aristotle in England* reviewed, 113
- Heseltine, G. C., his edition of *Selected Works of Richard Rolle, Hermit*, reviewed, 462
- Hill, F. E., his trans. of *The Canterbury Tales* reviewed, 112
- Hodnett, E., on Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, 482
- Hoefel, E. F., his *Soziale Herkunft der neuzeitlichen Dialektliteratur Englands* reviewed, 243
- Holmes, Elizabeth, her *Aspects of Elizabethan Imagery* reviewed, 100
- Houghton, W. E., Jr., article on S.E.M. — "Translator" of *Boethius*, 160
- Howard, Sir Robert. See *Dryden and Howard*
- Howarth, R. G., article on *A Manuscript of James Shirley's "Court Secret,"* 302
- Husbands, H. Winifred, *Summary of Periodical Literature*, 122, 249, 375, 500
- Huscher, H., his *Eigenart und Ursprung des englischen Naturgefühls* noticed, 120
- Hustvedt, S. B., his *Ballad Books and Ballad Men* reviewed, 483
- Hye way to the Spyttyl hous, R. Copland's, 406
- Jackson, A., note on Pope's epitaphs on Nicholas Rowe, 76
- Jacob, E. G., his *Daniel Defoe: Essay on Projects*, noticed, 120
- John, Katherine, her trans. of *Life of Milton*, by L. Racine, reviewed, 472
- Johnson, Samuel, *The Johnsonian Library* of R. B. Adam, 230; *Johnson, Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi*, ed. R. W. Chapman, noticed, 247
- K.-F., J., review by, 499
- Kane, R. J., article on *Anthony Chute, Thomas Nashe, and the first English work on Tobacco*, 151
- Kaucher, Dorothy J., her *Modern Dramatic Structure*, reviewed, 115
- Keats, *Studies in*, by J. M. Murry, reviewed, 485
- Keller, W., his *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 66, reviewed, 469
- Killigrew, Thomas, *Cavalier Dramatist, 1612-1683*, by A. Harbage, reviewed, 347
- Kit-Cat Club and the Theatre, *The*, article by R. J. Allen, 56
- Knight, G. W., his *Wheel of Fire* reviewed, 468
- Kurath, H., his *American Pronunciation* reviewed, 495
- Larsen, T., his *Pronunciation: A Guide to American Standards*, reviewed, 495
- Lavater, L., his *Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght*, ed. J. D. Wilson and May Yardley, reviewed, 95
- Lawton, H. W., article on *Bishop Godwin's Man in the Moone*, 23
- Lea, Kathleen M., note on an emendation for Satire X of *The Scourge of Villanie*, 334
- Lee, Sir S., his *Elizabethan and Other Essays*, ed. F. S. Boas, reviewed 227

- Leishman, J. B., reviews by, 343, 491  
 Leonard, S. A., his *Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800*, reviewed, 109  
 Lewis, C. S., letter on *Spenser's Irish Experiences and The Faerie Queene*, 83  
 Linthicum, M. C., note on "Oes," 198  
 Londoner *Vulgärsprache, Die*, in *Thackeray's Yellowplush Papers*, by K. Steuerwald, reviewed, 487  
 Lovelace, Richard, his *Poems*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson, reviewed, 477  
*Love's Labour's Lost*, note by Janet Spens, 331  
 Lucas, F. L., his *Eight Victorian Poets* reviewed, 489  
 Lukyn, Lucy, letter of (1705), 3 (cf. 195)  
 Lyly, John: *Addendum on Lyly's Songs*, article by R. W. Bond, 442  
  
 Mellwraith, A. K., note on Pen-and-Ink Corrections in Books of the Seventeenth Century, 204  
 McK., R. B., reviews by, 107, 121, 360, 373, 469  
 Mackinnon, Sir Frank D., his edition of Frances Burney's *Evelina* reviewed, 360  
 Mallam, P., his *Approach to Poetry* reviewed, 113  
 Mandeville, Bernard, An Unnoted Poem by, note by H. G. Ward, 73  
 Mandeville, *Lady Julia*, by F. Brooke, reviewed, 484  
 Marlowe and his *Circle*, by F. S. Boas, reviewed, 86  
 Marston, J., emendation in his *Scourge of Villainie*, 334  
 Mawer, A., his *Place-Names of Sussex* reviewed, 459  
 Meek, H. G., his *Johann Faust: The Man and the Myth*, reviewed, 227  
*Metres of English Poetry, The*, by E. Hamer, reviewed, 493  
 Michels, W., his *Barockstil bei Shakespeare und Calderón* reviewed, 100  
 Middle English, Wells' *Manual*, 4th Suppl., noticed, 246  
 Middle English -ong > -ung, 450  
 Middleton's *Birth and Education*, article by M. Eccles, 431

- Milton, J., MS. corrections in his printed works, 72; *Life of Milton*, by L. Racine, trans. Katherine John, reviewed, 472; *A Reference Guide to Milton*, by D. H. Stevens, reviewed, 472; *The Student's Milton*, ed. F. A. Patterson, reviewed, 472; *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose*, by H. F. Fletcher, reviewed, 472  
*Mittelenglisches Lesebuch*, ed. Brunner-Hittmair, noticed, 118  
*Monthly Review, The, Some writers on*, article by A. Hawkins, 168  
 Moore, W. J., article on *Robert Copland and his Hye way*, 406  
 More, Henry, correspondence of, with Anne, Viscountess of Conway, 349  
 More, Sir Thomas, *The Apology of Sir Thomas More*, ed. A. I. Taft, reviewed, 466; *More's Utopia and his Social Teaching*, by W. E. Campbell, reviewed, 465  
*More, Sir Thomas*, note on Addition III, by R. C. Bald, 67  
 Morley, Edith J., review by, 485  
 Morton, Rose A., her *Appreciation of Robert Southwell* reviewed, 102  
 MS. Ashmole 767, note on, 457; MSS. Bodley 340 and 342. .7  
 Murry, J. M., his *Studies in Keats* reviewed, 485  
  
 Nashe, T., and Anthony Chute, 151  
 Nethercot, A. H., his *Abraham Cowley: The Muse's Hannibal*, reviewed, 478  
 Newton, Annabel, her *Wordsworth in Early American Criticism* reviewed, 368  
 Nicolson, Marjorie H., her *Conway Letters* reviewed, 349  
*Nineteenth-Century Biography, Sketches in*, by K. Feiling, noticed, 246  
 Northcott, H. E. A., reviews by, 114, 371, 494  
 Nugent, May, her trans. of Charpentier's *Coleridge, The Sublime Somnambulist*, reviewed, 361  
  
 "Oes," note by M. C. Linthicum, 198  
 -ong > -ung (Middle English), 450  
*Orlando Furioso*, English madrigals derived from, 327

- Ortho-epia Gallica, The Importance of John Eliot's*, article by Florence Yates, 419
- Ossian, H. Blair on, note by R. W. Chapman, 80
- Patterson, F. A., his *Student's Milton* reviewed, 472
- Pen-and-Ink Corrections in Books of the Seventeenth Century, note by Helen Darbishire, 72; by A. K. McIlwraith, 204; by W. W. Greg, 337
- Pepys and the Skinner Family*, article by J. H. Hanford, 257
- Philippon, E. A., his *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen* reviewed, 224
- Pick, Samuel, note on his Borrowings, by H. Rollins, 204
- Pinto, V. de S., review by, 477
- Poetry, An Approach to*, by P. Mallam, reviewed, 113
- Poley, R., article on his ciphers by Ethel Seaton, 137
- Politics and Literature*, by G. D. H. Cole, reviewed, 371
- Pope, A., his epitaphs on N. Rowe, 76; his *Dunciad Variorum with the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*, ed. R. K. Root, noticed, 121
- Povey, K., article on *Notes for a Bibliography of Cowper's Letters*, 182
- Powell, J. F., article on *Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems*, 314; review by, 230
- Praz, M., reviews by, 102, 235, 465
- Pronunciation, A Guide to American Standards*, reviewed, 495. See *American*
- Racine, L., his *Life of Milton*, trans. Katherine John, reviewed, 472
- Ramello, G., his *Studi sugli apocrifi shakespeariani—Hamlet*, reviewed, 97
- Reaney, P. H., reviews by, 243, 487
- Renwick, W. L., review by, 470
- Richter, Helene, her *Lord Byron: Persönlichkeit und Werk*, reviewed, 239
- Rolle, Richard, Hermit, Selected Works of*, by G. C. Heseltine, reviewed, 462
- Rollins, H., note on Samuel Pick's Borrowings, 204
- Root, R. K., his edition of the *Dunciad Variorum*, by A. Pope, noticed, 121
- Routh, H. V., his *England under Victoria* reviewed, 486
- Rowe, Nicholas, Pope's epitaphs on, note by A. Jackson, 76
- Rowley poems, the, and T. Tyrwhitt, 314
- Satire, Notes on English Verse*, by H. Wolfe, reviewed, 114
- Saurat, D., his *Blake and Modern Thought* reviewed, 235; review by, 472
- Savonarola, his *Prediche*, ed. Cognasso, reviewed, 465
- Schleich, G., his ed. of *Sire Degarre* reviewed, 92
- Schücking, L. L., his *Shakespeare Bibliography* reviewed, 497
- Schütt, Marie, her *Die englische Biographie der Tudor-Zeit* reviewed, 345
- Scott, Janet G., her *Sonnets Elizabethains: Les Sources et L'Apport Personnel*, reviewed, 343
- Scourge of Villanie*, Marston's: note on an emendation, by Kathleen M. Lea, 334
- Seaton, Ethel, article on *Robert Poley's Ciphers*, 137; review by, 86
- Segar, Mary, note on *Dictionary-Making in the Early Eighteenth Century*, 210
- Sehlbach, H., his *Romankunst von Wilkie Collins* noticed, 499
- Serjeantson, Mary S., note on *Middle English "-ong > -ung"*, 450
- Shakespeare, W., note by M. A. Taylor on Shakespeare and Gloucestershire (*II Henry IV*), 200; note by Janet Spens on *Love's Labour's Lost*, 331; G. Ramello on *Hamlet*, 1603, reviewed, 97; *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, reviewed, 216; *A Shakespeare Bibliography*, by W. Ebische and L. L. Schücking, reviewed, 497; *Barockstil bei Shakespeare und Calderón*, by W. Michels, reviewed, 100; *Leading Motives in the Imagery of Shakespeare's Tragedies*, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, reviewed, 100; *Shake-*

- speare-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 66, reviewed, 469; *Shakespeare Studies Biographical and Literary*, by E. I. Fripp, noticed, 499; *The Wheel of Fire: Essays in Interpretation of S.'s Sombre Tragedies*, by G. W. Knight, reviewed, 468
- Shapiro, I. A., article on *The Text of Donne's Letters to Severall Persons*, 291
- Shirley, James, *Further facts about*, article by A. C. Baugh, 62; article by R. G. Howarth on a MS. of *Shirley's Court Secret*, 302
- Sidgwick, F., reviews by, 477, 483
- Simon-Baumann, Lotte, her *Darstellung der Charaktere in G. Eliot's Romanen* noticed, 119
- Sire Degarre, ed. G. Schleich, reviewed, 92
- Sisam, K., article on *MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 7
- Sisson, C. J., review by, 216
- Skinner family, relations of Pepys with the, 259
- Smith, G. C. Moore, reviews by, 113, 227, 345, 349, 477; notice of C. H. Herford, 340
- Smith, Lucile D., note on Sir Thomas Browne, 457
- Smith, L. P., his ed. of selections from works of J. Taylor reviewed, 475
- Snyder, Alice D., her *Coleridge on Logic and Learning* reviewed, 236
- Southwell, R., *An Appreciation of*, by Rose A. Morton, reviewed, 102
- Sparrow, J., review by, 478
- Spencer, Edward, and a "translation" of Boethius, 163
- Spens, Janet, note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, 331
- Spenser's *Irish Experiences and The Faerie Queene*, letter by C. S. Lewis, 83
- Spenser's *Marriage*, article by D. Hamer, 271
- Spenser, E., indebtedness to Boiardo and Ariosto, 83
- Sprague, A. C., his ed. of *Daniel's Poems and A Defence of Ryme* reviewed, 470
- Spurgeon, Caroline F. E., her *Leading Motives in the Imagery of Shakespeare's Tragedies* reviewed, 100
- Stenton, F. M., his *The Place-Names of Sussex* reviewed, 459
- Sterne, Laurence, *The Life and Times of*, by W. L. Cross, reviewed, 104
- Steuerwald, K., his *Londoner Vulgärsprache in Thackeray's Yellowplush Papers* reviewed, 487
- Stevens, D. H., his *Reference Guide to Milton* reviewed, 472
- Stokes, F. G., his ed. of *Gray's Elegy* reviewed, 107
- Studi sugli apocrifi shakespeareiani, by G. Ramello, reviewed, 97
- Summary of *Periodical Literature*, by Winifred Husbands, 122, 249, 375, 500
- Sussex, *The Place-Names of*, by A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, reviewed, 459
- Swift, J., reprint of *A Tale of a Tub*, 1710, noticed, 482
- Sykes, H. D., article on *Robert Greene and George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, 129
- Taft, A. I., his ed. of *The Apologys of Syr Thomas More, Knyght*, reviewed, 466
- Taylor, J., selections from works of, by L. P. Smith, reviewed, 475
- Taylor, M. A., note on *Shakespeare and Gloucestershire (II Henry IV)*, 200
- Teager, Florence E., note on *George Gascoigne and his Circle*, 330
- Tempest, N. R., review by, 493
- Thackeray, W. M., *Dialect in his Yellowplush Papers*, 487
- Thomson, Gladys S., article on *My Lord's Books*, 385
- Thomson, J., his poem *Winter*, facsimile reprint, noticed, 247
- Thorp, W., his *Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama* noticed, 119
- Tillotson, G., note on *Ashmole MS. 767*, 457
- Tillyard, E. M. W., his ed. of *The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt* reviewed, 93
- Tobacco, the first English work on, 151
- Tradition and Experiment in *Present-Day Literature* reviewed, 370
- Turnbull, J. M., review by, 104
- Tyrwhitt, Thomas, and the *Rowley Poems*, article by L. F. Powell, 314

- University Examination Results,  
1931..506
- Veal, Mrs., the apparition of, article by  
Sir Charles Firth, 1; *Mrs. Veal  
and her friends*, article by Dorothy  
Gardiner, 188
- W., G. D., review by, 120
- Walker, F. C., his *Pronunciation, A  
Guide to American Standards*, re-  
viewed, 495
- Ward, H. G., on an Unnoted Poem by  
Mandeville, 73
- Wells, J. E., his *Fourth Supplement to a  
Manual in Middle English, 1050-1400*,  
noticed, 246
- Wiencke, H., his *Die Sprache Caxtons*,  
reviewed, 464
- Wilkins, J., his *Discovery of a New  
World in the Moon*, 41
- Wilkinson, C. H., his ed. of *The Poems  
of Richard Lovelace* reviewed, 477
- Williams, H., note on *To a Lady on her  
Passion for Old China*, 76; reviews  
by, 356, 482
- Wilson, F. P., review by, 95
- Wilson, J. D., his ed. of Lavater's  
*Ghostes and Spirites Walking by  
Nyght* reviewed, 95
- Winter: A Poem*, by J. Thomson,  
facsimile reprint, noticed, 247
- Wolfe, H., his *Notes on English Verse  
Satire* reviewed, 114
- Wood, F. T., his ed. of *The Poems of  
Henry Carey* reviewed, 356; review  
by, 106
- Woodward, Rowland, the friend of  
Donne, note by M. C. Deas, 454
- Wordsworth in Early American Criticism*,  
by Annabel Newton, reviewed,  
368
- Wyatt, *The Poetry of Sir Thomas*, ed.  
E. M. W. Tillyard, reviewed, 93
- Yardley, May, her ed. of Lavater's  
*Ghostes and Spirites Walking by  
Nyght* reviewed, 95
- Yates, Florence, article on *The Import-  
ance of John Eliot's Ortho-epia  
Gallica*, 419
- Year's Work in English Studies, The*,  
Vol. IX, reviewed, 118.



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